1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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"drink heartily, drink! it will not hurt you.' All this "is done for the purpose of cheating me. When you "have obtained from me all you want, you call me a "drunken dog, and kick me out of the room.—See! this "is the manner in which you cheat the Indians when they "come to trade with you. So now you know when you "see me coming to your town again, you may say to "one another: 'Ah! there is Thomas coming again! "he is no longer a Moravian, for he is coming to us to "be made drunk—to be cheated—to be kicked out of the "house, and be called a *drunken dog!*'"

CHAPTER XXXVII.

FUNERALS.

I BELIEVE that no sufficiently detailed account has yet been given of the manner in which the North American Indians conduct the funerals of their dead. Captain Carver tells us that the Naudowessies, among whom he was, kept those ceremonies a secret, and would not give him an opportunity of witnessing them. Loskiel, although he drew his information from the journals of our Missionaries, has treated this subject rather superficially. I therefore run little risk of repetition in describing what I have myself seen, and I hope that the particulars which I am going to relate will not be thought uninteresting.

It is well known that the Indians pay great respect to the memory of the dead, and commit their remains to the

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ground with becoming ceremonies. Those ceremonies, however, are not the same in all cases, but vary according to circumstances, and the condition of the deceased; for rank and wealth receive distinctions even after death, as well among savages as among civilised nations. This, perhaps, may be easily accounted for. When a great chief dies, his death is considered as a national loss; of course all must join in a public demonstration of their sorrow. The rich man, on the other hand, had many friends during his life, who cannot decently abandon him the moment the breath is out of his body; besides, his fortune supplies the means of a rich entertainment at the funeral, of which many, as may well be supposed, are anxious to partake. Thus social distinctions are found even in the state of nature, where perfect equality, if it exists any where, might with the greatest probability be supposed to be found. Though the earth and its fruits are common to all the Indians, yet every man is permitted to enjoy the earnings of his industry, and that produces riches; and though there is no hereditary or even elective rank in their social organization, yet as power follows courage and talents, those who are generally acknowledged to be possessed of those qualities, assume their station above the rest, and the distinction of rank is thus established. Politicians and philosophers may reason on these facts as they please; the descriptions that I give are from nature, and I leave it to abler men than myself to draw the proper inferences from them.

On the death of a principal chief, the village resounds from one end to the other with the loud lamentations of the women, among whom those who sit by the corpse distinguish themselves by the shrillness of their cries and the frantic expression of their sorrow. This scene of mourning over the dead body continues by day and by-night until it is interred, the mourners being relieved from time to time by other women.

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These honours of "mourning over the corpse" are paid to all; the poor and humble, as well as the rich, great, and powerful; the difference consists only in the number of mourners, the undistinguished Indian having few besides his immediate relations and friends, and sometimes only those. Women, (notwithstanding all that has been said of their supposed inferior station and of their being reduced to the rank of slaves) are not treated after their death with less respect than the men, and the greatest honours are paid to the remains of the wives of renowned warriors or veteran chiefs, particularly if they were descended themselves of a high family, which, however strange it may appear, is not an indifferent thing among the Indians, who love to honour the merit of their great men in their relatives. I was present in the year 1762, at the funeral of a woman of the highest rank and respectability, the wife of the valiant Delaware chief *Shingask*; as all the honours were paid to her at her interment that are usual on such occasions, I trust a particular description of the ceremony will not be unacceptable.

At the moment that she died, her death was announced through the village by women specially appointed for that purpose, who went through the streets crying, "*She is no more! she is no more!*" The place on a sudden exhibited a scene of universal mourning; cries and lamentations were heard from all quarters; it was truly the expression of the general feeling for a general loss.

The day passed in this manner amidst sorrow and desolation. The next morning, between nine and ten o'clock, two counsellors came to announce to Mr. Thomas Calhoon, the Indian trader, and myself, that we were desired to attend and assist at the funeral which was soon to take place. We, in consequence, proceeded to the house of the deceased, where we found her corpse lying in a coffin, (which had been made by Mr. Calhoon's carpenter) dressed and painted in the most superb Indian style. Her gar-

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ments, all new, were set off with rows of silver broaches,* one row joining the other. Over the sleeves of her new ruffled shirt were broad silver arm spangles from her shoulder down to her wrist, on which were bands, forming a kind of mittens, worked together of wampum, in the same manner as the belts which they use when they deliver speeches. Her long plaited hair was confined by broad bands of silver, one band joining the other, yet not of the same size, but tapering from the head downwards and running at the lower end to a point. On the neck were hanging five broad belts of wampum tied together at the ends, each of a size smaller than the other, the largest of which reached below her breast, the next largest reaching to a few inches of it, and so on, the uppermost one being the smallest. Her scarlet leggings were decorated with different coloured ribands sewed on, the outer edges being finished off with small beads also of various colours. Her mocksens were ornamented with the most striking figures, wrought on the leather with coloured porcupine quills, on the borders of which, round the ancles, were fastened a number of small round silver bells, of about the size of a musket ball. All these things, together with the vermilion paint, judiciously laid on, so as to set her off in the highest style, decorated her person in such a manner, that perhaps nothing of the kind could exceed it.

The spectators having retired, a number of articles were brought out of the house and placed in the coffin, wherever there was room to put them in, among which were a new shirt, a dressed deer skin for shoes, a pair of scissors, needles, thread, a knife, pewter basin and spoon, pint cup, and other similar things, with a number of trinkets and other small articles which she was fond of while

* A kind of round buckle with a tongue, which the Indians fasten to their shirts. The traders call them *broaches*. They are placed in rows, at the distance of about the breadth of a finger one from the other.

l:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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living. The lid was then fastened on the coffin with three straps, and three handsome round poles, five or six feet long, were laid across it, near each other, and one in the middle, which were also fastened with straps cut up from a tanned elk hide; and a small bag of vermilion paint, with some flannel to lay it on, was then thrust into the coffin through the hole cut out at the head of it. This hole, the Indians say, is for the spirit of the deceased to go in and out at pleasure, until it has found the place of its future residence.

Every thing being in order, the bearers of the corpse were desired to take their places. Mr. Calhoon and myself were placed at the foremost pole, two women at the middle and two men at the pole in the rear. Several women from a house about thirty yards off, now started off, carrying large kettles, dishes, spoons, and dried elk meat in baskets, for the burial place, and the signal being given for us to move with the body, the women who acted as chief mourners made the air resound with their shrill cries. The order of the procession was as follows: first a leader or guide, from the spot where we were to the place of interment. Next followed the corpse, and close to it *Shingask*, the husband of the deceased. He was followed by the principal war chiefs and counsellors of the nation, after whom came men of all ranks and descriptions. Then followed the women and children, and lastly two stout men carrying loads of European manufactured goods upon their backs. The chief mourners on the women's side, not having joined in the ranks, took their own course to the right, at the distance of about fifteen or twenty yards from us, but always opposite to the corpse. As the corpse had to be carried by the strength of our arms to the distance of about two hundred yards, and hung low between the bearers, we had to rest several times by the way, and whenever we stopped, every body halted until we moved on again.

Being arrived at the grave, we were told to halt, then

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the lid of the coffin was again taken off, and the body exposed to view. Now the whole train formed themselves into a kind of semi-lunar circle on the south side of the grave, and seated themselves on the ground. Within this circle, at the distance of about fifteen yards from the grave, a common seat was made for Mr. Calhoon and myself to sit on, while the disconsolate *Shingask* retired by himself to a spot at some distance, where he was seen weeping, with his head bowed to the ground. The female mourners seated themselves promiscuously near to each other, among some low bushes that were at the distance of from twelve to fifteen yards east of the grave.

In this situation we remained for the space of more than two hours; not a sound was heard from any quarter, though the numbers that attended were very great; nor did any person move from his seat to view the body, which had been lightly covered over with a clean white sheet. All appeared to be in profound reflection and solemn mourning. Sighs and sobs were now and then heard from the female mourners, so uttered as not to disturb the assembly; it seemed rather as if intended to keep the feeling of sorrow alive in a manner becoming the occasion. Such was the impression made on us by this long silence.

At length, at about one o'clock in the afternoon, six men stepped forward to put the lid upon the coffin, and let down the body into the grave, when suddenly three of the women mourners rushed from their seats, and forcing themselves between these men and the corpse, loudly called out to the deceased to "arise and go with them and not to forsake them." They even took hold of her arms and legs; at first it seemed as if they were caressing her, afterwards they appeared to pull with more violence, as if they intended to run away with the body, crying out all the while, "Arise, arise! Come with us! Don't leave us! Don't abandon us!" At last they retired, plucking at their garments, pulling their hair, and ut-

l:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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tering loud cries and lamentations, with all the appearance of frantic despair. After they were seated on the ground, they continued in the same manner crying and sobbing and pulling at the grass and shrubs, as if their minds were totally bewildered and they did not know what they were doing.

As soon as these women had gone through their part of the ceremony, which took up about fifteen minutes, the six men whom they had interrupted and who had remained at the distance of about five feet from the corpse, again stepped forward and did their duty. They let down the coffin into the earth, and laid two thin poles of about four inches diameter, from which the bark had been taken off, lengthways and close together over the grave, after which they retired. Then the husband of the deceased advanced with a very slow pace, and when he came to the grave, walked over it on these poles, and proceeded forward in the same manner into an extensive adjoining prairie, which commenced at this spot.

When the widowed chief had advanced so far that he could not hear what was doing at the grave, a painted post, on which were drawn various figures, emblematic of the deceased's situation in life and of her having been the wife of a valiant warrior, was brought by two men and delivered to a third, a man of note, who placed it in such a manner that it rested on the coffin at the head of the grave, and took great care that a certain part of the drawings should be exposed to the East, or rising of the sun; then, while he held the post erect and properly situated, some women filled up the grave with hoes, and having placed dry leaves and pieces of bark over it, so that none of the fresh ground was visible, they retired, and some men, with timbers fitted before hand for the purpose, enclosed the grave about breast-high, so as to secure it from the approach of the wild beasts.

[343] The whole work being finished, which took up about an hour's time, Mr. Calhoon and myself expected that

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we might be permitted to go home, as we wished to do, particularly as we saw a thundergust from the west fast approaching; but the Indians, suspecting our design, soon came forward with poles and blankets, and in a few minutes erected a shelter for us.

The storm, though of short duration, was tremendous; the water, produced by the rain, flowing in streams; yet all had found means to secure themselves during its continuance, and being on prairie ground, we were out of all danger of trees being torn up or blown down upon us. Our encampment now appeared like a village, or rather like a military camp, such was the number of places of shelter that had been erected.

Fortunately, the husband of the deceased had reached the camp in good time, and now the gust being over, every one was served with victuals that had been cooked at some distance from the spot. After the repast was over, the articles of merchandise which had been brought by the two men in the rear, having been made up in parcels, were distributed among all present. No one from the oldest to the youngest, was excepted, and every one partook of the liberal donation. This difference only was made, that those who had rendered the greatest services received the most valuable presents, and we were much pleased to see the female mourners well rewarded, as they had, indeed, a very hard task to perform. Articles of little value, such as gartering, tape, needles, beads, and the like, were given to the smaller girls; the older ones received a pair of scissars, needles and thread, and a yard or two of riband. The boys had a knife, jews-harp, awl-blades, or something of similar value. Some of the grown persons received a new suit of clothes, consisting of a blanket, shirt, breech-cloth and leggings; of the value in the whole of about eight dollars; and the women, (I mean those who had rendered essential services) a blanket, ruffled shirts, stroud and leggings, the whole worth from ten to twelve dollars. Mr. Calhoon

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and myself were each presented with a silk cravat and a pair of leggings. The goods distributed on this occasion, were estimated by Mr. Calhoon at two hundred dollars; the greatest part of them had, the same morning, been taken out of his store.

After we had thus remained, in a manner, under confinement, for more than six hours, the procession ended, and Mr. Calhoon and myself retired with the rest to our homes. At dusk a kettle of victuals was carried to the grave and placed upon it, and the same was done every evening for the space of three weeks, at the end of which it was supposed that the traveller had found her place of residence. During that time the lamentations of the women-mourners were heard on the evenings of each day, though not so loud nor so violent as before.

I have thus described, from minutes which I took at the time, the ceremonies which take place among the Delaware Indians on the death of a person of high rank and consideration among them. The funerals of persons of an inferior station are conducted with less pomp and with less expense. When the heirs of the deceased cannot afford to hire female mourners, the duty is performed by their own immediate relations and friends. But "mourning over the corpse," is a ceremony that cannot be dispensed with.

It is always customary, when an Indian dies, of whatever rank or condition he may be, to put a number of the articles which belonged to the deceased in the coffin or grave, that he may have them when wanted. I have seen a bottle of rum or whiskey placed at the coffin head, and the reason given for it was, that the deceased was fond of liquor while living, and he would be glad of a dram when he should feel fatigued on his journey to the world of spirits.

When an Indian dies at a distance from his home, great care is taken that the grave be well fortified with posts and logs laid upon it, that the wolves may be

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prevented from getting at the corpse; when time and circumstances do not permit this, as, for instance, when the Indians are travelling, the body is enclosed in the bark of trees and thus laid in the grave. When a death takes place at their hunting camps, they make a kind of coffin as well as they can, or put a cover over the body, so that the earth may not sink on it, and then enclose the grave with a fence of poles.

Warriors that are slain in battle, are, if possible, drawn aside and buried, so that the enemy may not get their scalps, and also that he may not know the number of the slain. In such cases, they will turn an old log out of its bed, and dig a grave so deep, that the log, when replaced, may not press too hard upon the body. If any of the fresh earth be seen, they cover it with rotten wood, brush or leaves, that its place may not be found. If they have not sufficient time for this, or the number of their dead is too great, they throw the bodies on the top of each other between large logs, and place any kind of rotten wood or other rubbish upon them. They never, when they can help it, leave their dead to be devoured by wild beasts.

When the Indians have to speak of a deceased person, they never mention him or her by name, lest they should renew the grief of the family or friends. They say, "He who was our counsellor or chief," "She who was "the wife of our friend;" or they will allude to some particular circumstance, as that of the deceased having been with them at a particular time or place, or having done some particular act or spoken particular words which they all remember, so that every body knows who is meant. I have often observed with emotion this remarkable delicacy, which certainly does honour to their hearts, and shews that they are naturally accessible to the tenderest feelings of humanity.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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II. THE RECONSTRUCTION OF DELAWARE CULTURE

Introduction

The most recent reconstruction of early historic Delaware culture by Herman[1] failed to use the data made available by Kinietz[2] from the Trowbridge and Cass papers and minimized contemporary ethnographic data. Herman largely ignored modern ethnographic information because it "had combined material gained from different periods of time."[3] Kinietz used the previously unavailable Trowbridge and Cass data, but took little advantage of the other sources. His work also omitted a discussion of religion and some aspects of social organization. This study has utilized most of the source material of both of these investigators, as well as their results, and has in addition used other documentary materials. I have also used modern ethnographic data more extensively than have others. By using proper controls the ethnography of the Delawares can be made to cast valuable light on some of the less well-illuminated aspects of the early historic culture. The presence of a culture trait, whose existence could not be traced to white culture, to other Indian cultures, or to some sort of synthesis of these, was assumed to be of Delaware origin. It should be noted that some traits found in the field were considered Delaware on the basis of their absence among other groups; documentary materials later confirmed a Delaware provenance for many of these traits. Evidence from the field indicated, for example, that the Delawares possessed the trait of making a hole at the head of a coffin through which the soul could find its exit. Exit and reentrance were eased by the application of red ocher to this aperture. No evidence could be found which would indicate that this trait had been borrowed from other Indian cultures, nor was it derived from white culture, except that wooden coffins were used in place of bark receptacles. Later research substantiated the conclusion that this trait was of Delaware origin. In brief, by using a cautious and judicious approach it is possible to project ethnographic data back to early historic times with a fair degree of probability. Wherever this approach has been utilized, it is so noted in the text. I have also made a more serious effort to reconstruct the kinship terminology and general kinship structure of the early historic Delawares than has been attempted previously. This reconstruction is based mainly upon the recent suggestions of Murdock.[4]

The authorities for the data are given in chronological order, the seventeenth-century sources are given first, then the eighteenth-century, and so on down to the data recorded by myself in the field. When data secured from informants is used, the initials of the informant appear in the text or in a footnote with other references.[5] A discussion of the documentary sources is given in the Appendix.

[1] Herman, 1950, pp. 45-77.
[2] Kinietz, 1946.
[3] Herman, *op. cit.*, p. 48.
[4] Murdock, 1949, pp. 184-259, 323-53.
[5] Initials of informants are: O. A., Ollie Beaver Anderson; M. B., Mary Bob; N. D., Lenora Dean; J. T., Jim Thompson; F. W., Fred Washington; R. W., Reuben Wilson; L. F., Lillian Frenchman.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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found guilty and the wife was "permitted to draw off his right shoe and left stocking...she then tears off the lappet that covers his private parts, gives him a kick behind, and so drives him out of the house...."[75] Husbands could punish adulterous wives by thrashing them, or could obtain a divorce by bringing them before the chief or sachem. The woman's hair was cut off, she was deprived of her property, and perhaps even of her life, if found guilty by the sachem.[76] But Denton remarked: "It is no offense for their married women to lie with another man provided she acquaint her husband, or some of her nearest Relations with it, but if not it is accounted such a fault that they sometimes punish it with death."[77] One of the culturally sanctioned mechanisms for obtaining revenge upon an adulterous spouse was suicide.[78] A man's retaliation for adultery could also be seduction of the adulterer's wife. If and when the injured husband was successful in this venture, he made the fact public so that the original adulterer would be held up for public scorn.[79]

A widow, prior to remarriage, whether his wife had died of natural or other causes, had to recompense her relatives for her loss.[80] The duration of mourning was about a year.[81] A widow during this time had to support herself; she could not be given meat since a hunter's weapons were supposed to fail if he had given meat to a widow.[82] When the year had passed, the deceased one's soul left the earth and remarriage could follow.

Death

As soon as a person died the fact of death was spread throughout the community by a crier. The crier was a woman especially appointed and paid for her services.[83] This announcement evoked loud outcrys and lamentations from the general populace. These lamentations were continued intermittently in the house where the deceased lay until burial.[84] In recent times and perhaps earlier the moccasin game was played in the dwelling where the corpse lay.[85] The body was not buried at once because it was necessary to give the supernatural forces an opportunity to restore life to the corpse.[86] The length of time the body was kept varied with the season; it was three days in summer and seven in winter.[87] During this interval the corpse was dressed in new clothes and richly adorned and painted. Before noon on the day of burial a number

[75] De Rasieres, 1909, p. 108.
[76] *Ibid.*; see also Pastorius, 1912, p. 434.
[77] Denton, 1845, p. 9.
[78] Penn, 1912, p. 232; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 258-59; Loskiel, 1794, p. 58.
[79] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 77.
[80] Penn, 1912, p. 232.
[81] Pastorius, 1912, p. 435; Holm, 1834, p. 143; Brickell, 1842, p. 49; Trowbridge MS.
[82] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 88; Loskiel, 1794, p. 64.
[83] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 249; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 269.
[84] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 89; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 269.
[85] Harrington, 1913, p. 215; Kinietz, 1946, p. 72.
[86] Trowbridge MS; Kinietz, 1946, p. 51; J.T.
[87] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 249; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 269; Trowbridge MS; Kinietz, 1946, p. 51; M.B.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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of tools and ornaments were placed in the grave (or coffin in later times).[88] "They put into the Ground with them some House-Utensils, and some Money (as Tokens of their Love and Affection) with other Things, expecting they shall have Occasion for them again in the other World."[89] Denton and Lindestrom described burials in which deep circular pits were dug, the corpse being placed "...upright, sitting upon a seat, with his Gun, money, & such goods as he hath with him, that he may be furnished in the other world."[90] As far as can be determined there is no archaeological confirmation for this trait. Voegelin said, however, that this custom was "pan-eastern North American, with the center of distribution in the north."[91] In later centuries the corpse was buried in an extended, or partly flexed, prone position. One source said that the body's hands were tied "one on each side of his head."[92] Heckewelder, who observed the burial of the wife of an important man, gave the clearest discussion of the eighteenth-century mortuary practices. Just prior to burial "a small bag of vermilion paint, with some flannel to lay it on, was then thrust into the coffin through the hole cut out at the head of it. This hole, the Indians say, is for the spirit of the deceased to go in and out at pleasure, until it has found the place of its future residence."[93] J.T. said that the hole is painted with a red paint made from a root.

In the ceremony in which Heckewelder participated, a procession carried the coffin to the cemetery, which was a little way from the village, the female mourners making "the air resound with their shrill cries."[94] The procession consisted of a leader, followed by men carrying the coffin, then the husband of the deceased, war chiefs, counselors, women, and children. Finally came two men bearing loads of European goods, and women with eating utensils and dried elk meat. The chief mourners took their separate way to the grave, on the right side of the procession, about fifteen or twenty yards off. At the grave the corpse was exposed, the multitude arranging themselves in a half circle on the south side of the grave. The bereaved widower retired "to a spot at some distance, where he was seen weeping, with his head bowed to the ground."[95] The female mourners sat down twelve to fifteen yards east of the grave. Two hours were spent without further activity. At about one o'clock six men stepped forward to place the lid on the coffin and lower it into the grave; they were prevented from doing so by the female mourners. These mourners called upon the deceased to return, even trying to pull the corpse from the casket. When these women had returned to their places, continuing their lament, the six men again stepped forward and lowered the coffin into the grave. The head of the

[88] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 271; Trowbridge MS; O.A., M.B.

[89] Thomas, 1912, p. 340; Penn, 1882, p. 244, and Holm, 1834, p. 143, recorded the same custom.

[90] Denton, 1845, p. 8; also Lindestrom, 1925, p. 249.

[91] Voegelin, 1944, pp. 344-45.

[92] Holm, 1834, p. 143.

[93] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 271. J.T., N.D., and O.A. mentioned this trait.

[94] Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 271-72; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 88.

[95] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 272.

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deceased was oriented towards the east.[96] At this time they laid "two thin poles of about four inches (in) diameter, from which the bark had been taken off, lengthways and close together over the grave, after which they retired."[97] The widower then came up to the grave slowly and "walked over it on these poles, and proceeded forward in the same manner into an extensive adjoining prairie."[98] When he was gone, a painted post which signified the position and station of the deceased and her husband was "brought by two men and delivered to a third, a man of note,"[99] who placed it at the head of the coffin in the grave with its symbolism facing east.[100] Holm said, "If he was a good hunter, they put the figure in wood, of some wild animal, and if he was a good fisherman, that of a fish."[101] After the grave was filled with earth, palisades were set up "about breast-high, so as to secure it from...wild beasts."[102] Denton noted that "....they fence their graves with a hedge, & cover the tops with mats, to shelter them from the rain."[103]

A meal, which had been prepared some distance from the grave, and a distribution of presents concluded the funeral rites. Everybody received a gift, although those who had performed various duties received the most valuable presents. Food was placed on the grave at dusk, and this was repeated every evening for three weeks. After this span of time "it was supposed that the traveller had found her place of residence."[104] For three weeks the mourning of the women continued, although it gradually decreased in intensity.

People of less social importance were given less elaborate funerals.[105] No matter how simple the funerary rites, however, the customs of mourning had to be observed. Blackening of the face is one of the few such customs with which we are familiar.[106] Denton's description is the most complete one available for the seventeenth century. He said:

> At his Burial his nearest relations attend the Hearse with their faces painted black, and do visit the grave once or twice a day, where they send forth sad lamentations so long till time hath wore the blackness off their faces, & afterwards every year once they view the grave, make a new mourning for him, trimming up of the Grave, not suffering of a Grass to grow by it....[107]

A number of other sources from all periods confirm the care which was given the grave.[108] Food was occasionally left there, and annual feasts at the grave were common.[109] Trowbridge said that "it is customary among them to offer the first fine products of the hunting season and the first fruits of the earth at the grave of the deceased."[110] My informants said that Munsi feasts were more elaborate and that one was held twelve

[96] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 88; O.A., N.D., J.T., M.B.
[97] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 273.
[98] *Ibid.*
[99] *Ibid.*
[100] McClure, 1899, p. 90; Trowbridge MS.
[101] Holm, 1834, p. 143.
[102] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 274.
[103] Denton, 1845, p. 8.
[104] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 275.
[105] *Ibid.*; Trowbridge MS.
[106] Pastorius, 1912, p. 435; Penn, 1912, p. 234; Holm, 1834, p. 143.
[107] Denton, 1845, p. 8.
[108] Thomas, 1912, p. 340; Penn, 1912, p. 234; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 90; J.T., O.A.
[109] Penn, 1912, p. 234; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 90; J.T., O.A.
[110] Trowbridge MS.

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765 days after burial (J.T.). The modern funerary feast may not be entirely representative of the aboriginal custom but it probably is a fairly accurate reflection of it.[111] These annual feasts are held at the home of the mourning relative and not at the cemetery. Friends and relatives eat, pray, and talk about the departed. Some person, unrelated to the deceased, is especially invited. (Trowbridge also noted this custom.) This guest, who has to be younger than the deceased at the time of death, but of the same sex, must sample all the foods which were favorites of the deceased. The feast, it is said, benefits the dead since the food the stand-in eats satisfies the spiritual appetite of the dead. The stand-in is not paid for his services (J.T., O.A.).

765 Another adjunct to funeral customs of the modern period, and perhaps one which existed in an earlier period, consists of rites of purification. 783 Following a funeral, the immediate family burns a handful of sweet grass on the grave (O.A.). The members of the family also purify themselves by washing the arms, hands, and face with water and then symbolically rubbing the smoke from burned cedar leaves over these same parts. With cedar smoke they also purify the rooms of the dwelling where the person died. This is said to repel the soul of the departed if it should attempt to return (O.A., J.T., N.D.).

764 It seems reasonable to assume that prior to European contact the Delawares varied somewhat in their funerary rites. De Vries, for example, alluded to a form of secondary burial, but this cannot be specifically associated with the Delawares.[112] This account mentioned a funeral feast and the erection of four poles and shelves upon the grave. Lindestrom also described a grave upon which four poles were raised:[113]

> The dead man's money is placed upon him and he is set down in the pit upon the stool with a tobacco pipe, a fathom long, in his mouth, screwed together with leather, the head of green or black stone, which is lighted through by the fire in the pipe, so that we can see how the tobacco is consumed, and this pipe-head is so large that a handful of tobacco will go into it, which is to be his food on the journey. This pipe they dig down into the ground from the mouth of the man.[114]

Thomas mentioned that the bones of celebrated persons were carried considerable distances to be reinterred near their homes. Perhaps this is a reference to the well-known secondary burial of the Nanticokes.[115]

762 Suicide.—It has already been noted that suicide was a means of punishing an adulterous spouse. Heckewelder knew of four persons who committed suicide between 1771 and 1780; all were men and all ate the root of the May apple. Three were successful, and the other was given an emetic and survived. Two of the men committed suicide because of thwarted love lives; the other two were married to adulterous women.[116] Trowbridge early in the nineteenth century mentioned that suicide was

[111] Speck, 1937, p. 59, has discussed "Sacrifice Feasts" of which funeral feasts are an example and noted that their "ancient character is exhibited by the fact of [their] wide distribution in similar form over the entire territory inhabited by Algonkin-speaking peoples."

[112] De Vries, 1909, pp. 223-24.

[113] Lindestrom, 1925, p. 250.

[114] *Ibid.*, p. 249.

[115] Thomas, 1912, p. 340.

[116] Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 258-60.

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428 longed to the man, and bring it to one place. The friends do not keep a single article, for they wish to forget the dead and are afraid lest the smallest part of the property of the deceased should remind them of him. They give what the deceased has left to their friends and no one of his friends receives anything; even though he should wish to take something he will not do it through fear of the others. If a dying Indian leaves his gun or any other trifle to a particular friend the legatee is immediately put in possession and no one disputes his right. The widow gets nothing, yet whatever the husband has given to his wife during his life-time remains her property. Therefore we need not wonder that a married Indian pair should not have their goods in common, for otherwise the wife would be left wholly destitute after her husband's death. In like manner the husband inherits nothing when his wife dies.

768 587 According to ancient custom a widow should not marry again within a year after the death of her husband, for the Indians say that he does not forsake her before that time. At the end of this period, however, they believe that his soul goes to its place. A widow must endeavor to live by her own industry. She is not permitted to purchase any meat, for the Indians are superstitiously persuaded that their guns fail if a widow should eat of the game they have killed. Now and then a kind friend will venture to transgress the rule and give her some meat secretly. As soon as the first year of her widowhood is passed, the friends of the deceased husband clothe and provide for her and her children. They also propose another husband if they know of a desirable party, or, at least, tell her that she is now at liberty to choose for herself. If, however, she has not attended to the prescribed rule but married within the year, they 626 never trouble themselves about her again except, perhaps, to speak evil of her.

If a man's wife die, her relatives pretend to have some claim upon him until a year has passed. If he has remained a widower during that time they generally secure him a wife, preferring a sister of the departed, if one be living.

● 764 The burying places are at some distance from the towns. Before they had hatchets and other tools they used to line the

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inside of a grave with the bark of trees and when the corpse was let down they placed some pieces of wood across, which were again covered with bark and then the earth thrown in. When they were able to split boards they placed them, not, however, joined in any way, in the grave in such a manner that the corpse might be between them. A fourth board was laid over it as a cover. Now they have learned to make proper coffins. The graves are generally dug by old women as the young people abhor this kind of work. The coffin is made by men and placed in the grave. Then the corpse is brought, dressed in new clothing and a white shirt, with the face and shirt painted red, laid upon a new mat and let down into the grave. They cover the body with the strowd and nail up the coffin. Formerly it was the custom to place the pouch, tobacco, pipe, knife, fire material, kettle and hatchet in the grave but this is no longer done. They also fill up the grave with earth, which was not done in former times. The graves are all arranged in such a manner that the head was turned to the east and the feet to the west. At the head of the corpse a tall post is erected, pointing out who is buried. If the deceased was a chief this post is neatly carved but not otherwise decorated. If it was a Captain the post is painted red and his head and glorious deeds are portrayed upon it. The burial post of a physician is hung with a small tortoise shell which he used in his juggling practice. In honor of a great warrior his warlike deeds are exhibited in red color on the burial post.

In the evening soon after sunset and in the morning before daybreak the female relations and friends assemble in the house of the deceased and mourn over the body. This is done until he is buried. All the effects of the deceased are piled up near the body. These are taken to the place of burial and the greater part is distributed among those who assisted in burying the dead. The rest is given to the friends present, each receiving a share. During the letting down of the corpse into the grave the women set up a deafening howl. Men deem it a shame to weep, yet in silence and unobserved they often cannot refrain from tears. After the ceremony is over the mother, grandmother or other near female relative of the deceased goes evening and

Death

Early burials which have been excavated reveal few objects buried with the body although Penn indicates that it was customary among the Lenape to place objects in the graves (p. 37). Skinner is of the opinion that this may have been a custom which was coming into more common practice during the period we are dealing with (Skinner, 1909, p. 50). Of about equal occurrence are flexed and secondary bone burials. A Delaware burial has been described by Lindstrom: "...a round pit is dug in the ground and a stool is placed in the hole upon which the dead man shall sit. Then the dead man's money is placed upon him and he is set down in the pit upon the stool with a tobacco pipe a fathom long, in his mouth...". After the hole is filled up, "...they dig down in the corners of a square four very long poles upon which they make three shelves, and decorate the poles with long strips of blue, red or green frieze,[16] hanging like fringes." The bones were later dug up and the flesh cut from them after which they were wrapped in chestnut bark and placed on the bottom shelf where the bundle was allowed to stand until it rotted. (Lindstrom, pp. 249-250).

Above the body there has frequently been found a layer of shells which has been interpreted as evidence of a feast of the dead (Skinner, 1909, p. 50). Other features of the death ceremonies noted by early writers are; the use of charcoal on the face as a sign of mourning (Penn, p. 37; Danckaerts, p. 159), the sending of a messenger to all friends to announce a person's decease and loud lamentations at the grave. The name of the deceased was not mentioned (Lindstrom, pp. 249-250). Many of these features are incorporated in Heckewelder's excellent description of the funeral of a chief's wife (Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 269-276).

Disease

Disease was classified into natural illness and sickness caused by witchcraft and spirits of the dead. This classification is reflected in the many different types of cures which the Delaware practiced. Curing was one of the few activities placed in the hands of professional people, the shamans, although purely medicinal cures were also performed by laymen. The shamans used a combination of medicines, magic, sweating, bleeding and psychotherapy to effect their cures for which they were paid. Penn says that the Delaware will give anything to be cured and this is echoed by later writers (Penn, p. 36; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 232).

Medicines which were taken internally were made from bark and roots mixed with water (Penn, p. 36; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 224-231); likewise, plants with medicinal properties were made into poultices for wounds, boils and snake bite (Heckewelder, 1881, p. 229; Loskiel, p. 113). The shaman might also breathe on the patient or blow his remedy over the patient's body. In addition to making and giving these [illegible] the shaman frequently put on a performance in which he grimaced and acted in such a way as to frighten away the evil spirit which

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among the Delawares are provided from his memory. They may serve as a base of comparison with the type of performance recorded among other tribes of the same cultural group when time comes to consider the history of the game. We learn, for instance, that the players started with four moccasins on each side but that towards morning the women took away one moccasin, leaving them three under which to hide the cartridge or bullet. Later, in the early hours of the morning another moccasin was taken away, later another until only one remained on each side and the players were unable to continue. One of the older women, Mrs. Minnie Fouts, who had taken part in this rite, corroborated the information of Joe Washington and added some of the details put on record. As the moccasins were taken away one by one during the course of the night, it was a signal for a change in the repertoire of songs in the series. It was added in explanation of taking away the moccasins that the men were induced to cease the game by this gradual method, lest they play too long. The element of wagering on the outcome of the moccasin game was stricken out when the game came to be used in the funeral rite, though previously betting was carried on by the Delawares when the game was an independent celebration for amusement. The reason for introducing the moccasin game into the funeral program was to provide a means of keeping the party awake and in good spirits while they were sitting up with the dead person during the nights between the time of decease and burial. Levity was customary during the playing of the game, yet this did not seem to interfere with the spirit of the funeral, it being intended to lighten the grief of those who were paying their last duties to the deceased.[1]

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THE RING AND PIN GAME

Koko'lac (meaning not clear).—The following game, the name of which is not as descriptive as it might be although

[1] In the account of the Moccasin Game given by R. C. Adams ("Legends of the Delaware Indians," Washington, 1905, p. 47), some of the songs accompanying the rite are transcribed. It is doubtful whether any more of these scores could be secured at the present time.

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order (the grandchildren) are, the Potowatomi, Sauk and Fox, Ioway, Tonkawa, Sioux, Ottawa, and Kickapoo, Miami, Peoria, and besides these the Chippewa, Menomini, Comanche, Nes Percé, Apache, Winnebago, Osage, Kaw, Ponca, Quapaw. All these here are differently named. Now here all these call the Delawares Wapanachki, or "Our Grandfather." But all our "brothers" call us by the name Lenape.

Now, I shall explain about the brothers of the Delawares, about whom I can not say much, but as many as I can name are the Nanticoke and Mahikan, and Munsee and several nations of the Iroquois are as many as I can think of as being our brothers. But nevertheless the Delawares are always considered the oldest. There must be older persons than I am who know all the different degrees of tribal relationship. Now then, a few more words, the Wyandot are our nephews, and also the Seneca and Cherokee. But the Mexicans are our uncles and the whites in general our brothers, and black people, some say "He who has a high color," our elder brothers, and it is he who is the strongest of all the different nations of people.

To the above list of tribal names several more may be added; ma'ckos, the Muskogi or Creek, a derivation of the term for swamp, and Taǫ'gale'wi', the Yuchi, meaning a people inferentially lost or wandering. The latter revives an old designation, Tahogale, Hogloge and variants (see discussion in J. R. Swanton, Early History of the Creek Indians, Bulletin 73, Bureau American Ethnology, 1922, pp. 286–312) for this mysterious and important people with whom the Delawares appear to have had contact.

MORTUARY CEREMONIES AND PROCEDURES

The customs concerned with death and interment of the Delawares are traced to a fusion of the rites of the tribe proper with those of the Munsee. We even have evidence that for a portion of the Delaware group certain mortuary rites of the Nanticoke [42] were assimilated during one period of time, as Harrington's account reveals.[43] Without attempting to un-

[42] Harrington, *op. cit.*, 183–4.

[43] An account of the Nanticoke independent burial customs, which were maintained by members of this tribe living among the Delawares as late as 1870, will be given shortly (p. 142).

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764 tangle some slightly confused details which are encountered
174 in the various descriptions given by early as well as late authors on Delaware ethnology, the citations from some of them will be presented and those of the informant separately. It is manifest that mortuary rites of the tribe have changed from time to time while the Delawares have been passing through the vicissitudes of their protracted migration from the Atlantic to the Plains.

764 In the text dictated by Wi·tapano'xwe we learn sufficient detail to make a complete summary of burial customs unnecessary as a separate paragraph. Nevertheless several excerpts from explanatory notes made by him to clear up his narration may be introduced. They discuss the treatment of the body of the deceased, duties of the relatives, the arrangements for interment, the sitting-up with the corpse and the playing of the ceremonial moccasin gambling game, the feast at the gathering for interment and its repetition at the end of the first year period after death.

764 With the interest in ceremonial matters that is natural
775 to his mental make-up Wi·tapano'xwe gives us his version of the doctrines and rites appropriate to the ushering of the soul of the defunct Delaware to the "Land of Spirits Above," *manito''kamik hukwe'yuŋ*, from the "Land of Spirits on Earth," *manito''kamik*. His particulars are in accordance with the theory of the journey of the soul explained and illustrated by a sketch of the path of the soul in its progress to the abode of *ke·tan·to'wi·t*, "Great Spirit," as given in the study of the Big House Ceremony. (Op. cit. Fig. 26.)

764 His major contribution to our knowledge of current funereal customs lies in the outline of the sermon and procedure of the Feast for the Dead. The proper name for the feast on the eleventh day after death is *da·kwi·p·hɔ't·i·n* "together eating." The feast that is celebrated one year after the death of the individual, at which only a few of the relatives are present, is called *wi·hoʷ'mwi·n*, "feast of offering to someone." It has already been noted that the latter feast has entered the Delaware system of rites by assimilation from the institutions of the Munsee according to the opinion of our sources.

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The recurrence of this feast is determined by spiritual influences. We are told, for instance, that if it is overlooked and the spirit of the deceased becomes offended, a disturbing dream visitation or an omen of mysterious significance would provide a warning against further neglect. This would cause the family to resort to the feast again. 764

The narrator assumes the rôle of the aged speaker who is invited by the family of the deceased to preside over the obsequies. He expounds the doctrine of immortality so vital and comforting to the bereaved Indians. He betrays the conservative attitude of the tribe which proved such a barrier to the theological arguments of the early Moravian missionaries when they first tried to combat the spiritual convictions of the natives. The ensuing lecture by the speaker should be read with the explanatory text of the Big House Ceremony on the table beside it. Without further comment on this important feast I would call attention only to the instance before us as being an American case of the psychological attitude of the natives toward the event of death, in which emotions that seem conflicting and not harmonized to the European mind are illustrated in the wailing and grief mingled with feasting and gaming during the rites of obsequy. The topic has been discussed continuously by religious theoreticians since the time of Tylor.

We may now take up the preliminary details of information on burial procedures from early as well as present sources. The first is the account of Wi·tapano'xwe.

Delaware Burial Ceremony

"To begin with, in case of one dying, four persons, two men and two women must be selected, usually of one of the two opposite ceremonial groups, to act as pall-bearers. A hog must be procured to provide sufficient meat, and also vegetables and fruit to feed every one who comes to the burial. The three principal food divisions are represented, meat, vegetables and fruits.

"When a man dies his body is dressed by the two men appointed, if a woman, the two women dress the body. A little red paint is used, because they believe this is formal preparation for the body of an 'Indian.'

"An elderly man is selected to talk and conduct the burial, and he must be governed by the wishes of the family, or according to the wishes

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764 of the person departed, if he or she made any statement as to what way he wanted the burial conducted.

[525] "All who wish to may come and sit up with the corpse. The men pall-bearers sit up and others who wish to play a hand game,* using usually a coffee bean or buckeye bean or a bullet for ball hiding—first under a glove or moccasin—and the other persons guess which moccasin he hides the bean or bullet under. This is kept up until daybreak. At night before the "wake," the men pall-bearers discharge three (another says two) musket shots toward the sunset, then everyone must rise and give attention. The shots symbolize the departure of the soul of the deceased. Everyone must be awakened, especially the children, so that they may not become frightened. The widowed person or the bereaved parents stay awake all night. And just before sunrise another volley of two or three shots is fired which symbolizes lifting the soul upward. The relatives of the deceased stand in front of the shooters. With the echo of the discharge the soul departs.

764 "Now an elderly person, who has been chosen to officiate at the ceremony, must offer thanks to the Great Spirit at breakfast time and [761] perform the ceremony before the body leaves the house. During the funeral procession no one must look back,—if they do it indicates another of the immediate members of the family will follow soon. The speaker must be given one 'Indian yard of wampum beads' for his services, which do not end until after the feast on the eleventh day noon hour.

"One of the pall-bearers must go to the grave each day and build a little fire at the head of the grave for four consecutive evenings and the people must leave the house in charge of someone, for it must not be left alone for twelve days, and a light must be kept burning at the main entrance of the house for four nights after the death of a person.

768 "And note, the widowed person must also be painted when the face 764 of the 'departed' body has been painted. Four days after, 'divorcement' proceeding takes place in the form of a ceremony. That is, they must burn cedar in the house to 'fumigate' and the cedar water is used to wash the widow's or widower's head. If a woman, she is told that she is now no longer obligated to her deceased husband's family. She is furnished with new clothes throughout. With this ceremony she is 'divorced,' but the relationship terminology remains the same to the family she formerly was married into.

775 "Now the burial hole is prepared on the day following the sitting up 826 with the body at night—it is not considered a grave until the body is in 772 it,—and even now, in the modern times, we do not believe in taking the body to be embalmed, as we believe the life blood is the spirit that remains on earth until the deceased is admitted to the abode of the Great Spirit, which is the twelfth level of the Heaven.

* This is the common moccasin game of North America. For description see S. Culin, "Games of the North American Indians," 24th Annual Report, Bureau American Ethnology 1906, and page 99 of this study.

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"A small wooden post is used in case of a man's grave and placed at the head of the grave on the east end. (The head must always be directed toward the sunrise, feet to the west.) A woman's grave is indicated by placing a cross. (See Fig. 5.) A few logs are placed over the grave to keep out 'varmints.'

"Now at the conclusion of the burial, or just before, a little hole must be left in the casket and one cut in the end opposite the head of the wood box also,[184] and the post placed after covering same, then paint the usual designs on posts. The victuals are separated for the pall-bearers and all the relatives. The latter eat apart from the people in general. Just before the feast at the cemetery the speaker calls all the people to the grave and talks—takes up the life of the person and relates the character of the dead person, and if he lived a nice quiet life and tells his chance or her chance to be born into the spiritual world. The life blood remains, but the body goes back to the mother earth, of which we are a part. The belongings of the dead are divided among those who waited on the body, and the food is divided among the four pall-bearers also.

"Now at the announcement the speaker tells them to remember well the eleventh day at the noon hour, all must be ready to offer thanks for the great opportunity to give victuals to their dead kinfolks, as well as giving the hog and other rations which will be offered to the one who departed. That is, he or she eats the last time with his or her living relatives or tribesmen.

"The latter feature belongs to the Munsee division of the Delawares, but a Delaware proper does not have the eleventh day feast. One of the Munsee division may say, in passing threatening jokes, for instance, 'I am going to kill you.' The Munsee will say, 'Well it will cost you two hogs!' That is, it means one hog at the time of burial and the other at the eleventh day feast."

The grave posts referred to are described as being about two feet in height above the ground, which at the head of a man's grave is a single one painted with crosses, at a woman's grave one with a horizontal cross-bar (Fig. 5, *a* and *b*). The crosses it should be added do not stand for the Christian emblem but represent the "Cross-roads" on the path of the spirit to the abode of souls (see pp. 174–7, "Big House Ceremony").

[184] It is important to note that the Delawares are strongly averse to the use of European materials in mortuary constructions. They will not use iron in nailing, nor will they compromise with the past by adopting metal coffins, out of fear that the spirit would be sealed up and unable to reach the "habitation of spirits above." As noted before, when a wooden casket is bought by the progressive Delawares a square hole is cut in it for the exit of the soul-spirit after the event of the feast.

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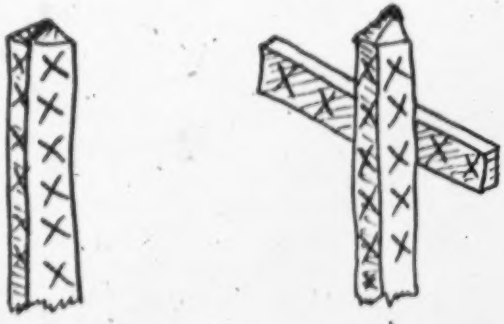
769 The Delawares have assimilated the Munsee custom of the family giving a feast one year from the date of death of its members. One or more deceased members of the same family



a b

FIG. 5. GRAVE POSTS AT HEAD OF MAN'S GRAVE (*a*) AND WOMAN'S (*b*), about two feet high.

may be remembered at this time, each one being represented by an invited person selected from another group (Wolf, Turtle or Turkey) or someone who is not related to the deceased by blood. Those representing the deceased need not necessarily be of corresponding sex. The person who is giving the feast, which is usually held at night, announces that he has invited the guests present to eat in memory of the departed member or members of his family. On such occasions the invited guests are served first. The food, which may be of various sorts, is equally divided and what is left the guests may take home in the vessels which it is customary to bring to such feasts for that purpose. A certain amount of food is set aside for the members of the family who eat after the guests have been served. Sometimes the person who sponsors the ceremony will give one of the guests a pint of liquor (or "sacred wine" as the informant called it) as a sacramental token. This he may dispose of as he chooses.[46]

764 A most complete description of a Delaware funeral is given by the missionary John Heckewelder, eye-witness to the burial of a woman of high rank in 1762, the wife of a war-chief, Shingask. The essential features of the event

[46] G. Tantaquidgeon, "Delaware Notes," 1930.

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described correspond to those of our sources.[47] Heckewelder's account, though somewhat too lengthy to quote here, is indispensable to the student of the history of Delaware institutions, since it gives extended details of burial practices, and in particular the garb and ornamentation of people of high rank during the period of residence in Ohio.

For a still earlier period, before the tribe had left the Atlantic coast, De Vries has a generalized account of burial:

"They make a large grave, and line it with boughs of trees, in which they lay the corpse, so that no earth can touch it. They then cover this with clay, and form the grave, seven or eight feet, in the shape of a sugar loaf, and place palisades around it. . . . They keep a portion of the dead in the house. . . . They then bury the bones in the grave, with a parcel of zeewan, and with arrows, kettles, knives, paper, and other knick-knacks which are held in great esteem by them, and cover them with earth, and place palisades around them. . . . Such is the custom on the coast in regard to the dead." [48]

For a later period we have the outline of burial customs by Zeisberger (1779–1780). The particulars that he gives follow in general those already noted, except that the funeral sermon is not emphasized, and like the modern rites show a change from the custom of burying property with the body to that of giving it away by selected distribution to those present at the ceremonies. Another discrepancy is found in Zeisberger's mention that the corpse is laid with head to west instead of to the east. His account is as follows:

"Formerly the people lined the graves with the bark of trees but now they have learned how to make coffins of boards. After the grave has been dug by the old women the men place the coffin in it. The corpse is brought, dressed in new clothing and a white shirt, with the face and shirt painted red, laid upon a new mat and placed in the coffin. In former times it was the custom to place the pouch, tobacco, pipe, knife, fire material, kettle and hatchet in the grave, leaving the grave open. Now, however, this is not done and the grave is filled with earth. The corpse was laid with the head toward the west. A post was erected at the head of the grave indicating by carvings or articles hung upon it the

[47] John Heckewelder, "History, Manners and Customs of the Indian Nations Who once Inhabited Pennsylvania and the Neighboring States," Publications of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 1876, pp. 270–6.

[48] David De Vries, "Voyages from Holland to America," New York (translation), 1853, p. 164 et seq.

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764 person buried and his rank in the tribe. In the evening soon after sunset and in the morning before daybreak the female relations and friends assemble in the house of the deceased and mourn over the body. The effects of the deceased are taken to the place of burial, the greater part being distributed among those who assist at the burial. As the corpse is let down into the grave the women set up a deafening howl. After the ceremony the mother, grandmother, or some near female relative goes evening and morning to the grave and weeps over it, this continues, with less and less regularity until the mourning period is over. Sometimes food is placed over the grave." [49]

"To the spirits of the dead they offer both meat and drink. The doctors decide, in the case of a meat offering, which animal is to be sacrificed. When the guests are in the dark with no fire assembled an old man offers the meats to the enraged spirits and begs them to be pacified. The old man then communes with the spirits and tells the guests that they have been appeased.

"In the case of drink to be offered the guests assemble and drink together, then someone speaks with the spirits and pacifies them. The guests walk to the grave and pour some rum on it." [50]

172 764 184 Archaeological evidence is not lacking to show that before the historic period the custom of cleaning the bones of the dead and subsequent burial of the skeleton, sometimes in groups forming ossuaries, had penetrated as far north as the neighborhood of New York.[51] The testimony coincides with the tradition among the modern Delawares, recorded by Harrington, that the "Wolf clan" practiced the rite of removing the flesh from the bones of the deceased and later interred the bones with appropriate ceremonies.[52] Lindeström (1654) makes mention of the Delawares stripping the skeleton, disposing of the bones upon a shelf and distributing the property of the deceased among the relatives.[53] These institutions among the Delawares are unquestionably of southern origin, and their introduction as far north as the domain of the Delawares is clearly attributable to the Nanticoke in 764 whose culture they were firmly established at an early period.

[49] Zeisberger, *op. cit.*, pp. 88–90.

[50] Zeisberger, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

[51] A. B. Skinner, "The Lenape Indians of Staten Island," Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History, III, 1909, pp. 49–51.

[52] Harrington, *op. cit.*, pp. 183–4.

[53] Peter Lindeström, "Geographia Americae, 1654–6," ed. by A. Johnson, Philadelphia, 1926, pp. 249–51.

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In a subsequent chapter an account will be given of the mortuary practices of those Nanticoke who followed the Delawares to the west. These rites were carried out by the Nanticoke descendants among the Delawares as late as approximately 1860. From this case we learn the extent of assimilation of rites among the tribes which gradually joined together and formed the Delaware Nation of historic times. An interpretative summary of mortuary rites of the eastern tribes has appeared by MacLeod in which the southern origin of the bone cleaning complex is discussed.[54]

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Preparations for the Burial

yu'kwe elaŋgu'ndieŋ yu'ni· awe·'n ə'n·da
And now my kindred this person when

wi·k·a'əs·i·t'. a'hət ə'n·da wei·ta'k·ən·u't·əma' e·li·'xiŋg
is dead. It is hard when interpret the customs

wəl·a·'haxane·' awe·'n wi·ka'əs·i·t. hi·'t·ami·
although person is dead. First

əp·ha't·i·n ta'm·'se haŋg·. ne·'wa lə'n·owak
they sitting-up (wake) all night sometimes said. Four men

n'hak·a'lkwus·owak ə'n·da li·'nalə't·iŋ e·'li· tci·'-
are used when in the game because they

p·axkwi·nalə't·i·n kwu't·i· t'pu'kowe. me·'tci· ə'n·da
play moccasin-game all night. Now when

pet·a'p·aŋg na' yu'ki·k' kwe·'tc'kun·a'xti·t' ma't·a-
almost dawn then these who dressed up not

e·p·i·li·'tci· naxa'n' kwuta·'+he·'yək wehe'ndji·ə'p·aŋg
here [corpse] three times shoot east

wundaxkwi·'i· naxa'n' kwut·a·'he·n. na'tc'pəna'hanen
toward three times they discharge guns. And then afterwards,

we·'mi·awe·'n tu·'kəna·. ni·'calənowa'k ək ni·'cax-
every body they awaken. Two men and two

kwe·'yək a'ləmi· we'ndjaxki·n gi'ci·mi·tsaxti'ŋ·ge
women begin to prepare food after they had eaten

nətc' we·'mi·ke'ko ki·cəna'k·wət' nətc' yu'ni·
and then everything made ready then this

[54] W. C. MacLeod, "Priests, Temples and Practice of Mummification in Southeastern North America," XXII Congresso Internazionale degli Americanisti, Roma, 21-30, 1926, pp. 207-9.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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764 539 k'wutohe''pi· pən·d'ha't·o"n puhe"xɔ'k·uŋg. ɔk we·'mi·
body will be put in into box. And all

me'hmi·'tciŋg ga'xta gi·'l'səm·a"n e·'li· al·a'p·at'
food must be cooked because [must] hurry

we'ndji· te'p·i· gi·cəna'k·ɔt' ne'n·i ɔ'lak'".
so that enough time ready made the hole [grave].

ɔk cəmu'tc' yu'ni· me'hmi·'tciŋg tc'pa"ta·'s·u
And also this food is separated

me''həmi·kəmɔs·i·'tci·k mi·tci''ti·t' ɔk yu'ki·k
by those who wait [on the dead person] eat and these

e·'laŋgo"ma''ti·t' ɔk naholi·'' ci·'kwi·ne''ti·t'. ɔk
his kindred and also the orphans [bereaved].[11] And

nahəli·'' tə't·a awe·'n witci·mi·'tsu. me·'tci· ə'n·da
also any person may eat with [them]. Now when

i'ka pe"t·a's·i·k' yu'ni· kwut·ohe·'p·i· kətəma·'-
there they bring this here body to the graves

ksowa'kan·i·ke·'k ɔk yu'ni· ɔ'lak'" ki·'cən·a'k·wut'.
[group of pitiful bodies] and here hole [grave] made ready.

natc' pəndha't·o"n ne'kwut·ohe·'pi· natc' laha'p·a
Then they lower, put in the body then afterward

awe·'n ki·'ci·ma"n pəmat·o"'nhe"t'.
someone is selected speaker.

The Burial Ceremony and Sermon (by Wi·tapano'xwe)

The person chosen to perform the ceremony of address in the following account is an old person well versed in the rites. He is usually a family head in the same family and group of the deceased. It will be noted that he receives the ceremonial [465] payment of the yard ("shoulder-length") of wampum. The rite described is understood to be of Munsee origin assimilated in ancient times to the Delaware rite.

Yu'kwe elaŋgu'ndieŋg" me·'tci· ki·cəna'k·wut'
"Here our kindred now is ready

yu'ni· k'təma·'ksowa'kan. ki·'l'cəna'k·wut' yu'kwe
this grave. Made ready here

we·'mi· la'tce"s·owa'k·ana ne'hel·ata'ŋgup' wa'k·a
all his belongings which belonged deceased

[11] This refers to the collateral relatives of the deceased and his children.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
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ne·k·a'lkweŋg a''kahəm·awəne·'yo yu'ki·k mi·'kəm- 764
who departed to divide these the pall-bearers 539

ɔ·s·i·'tci·k. [46] ndəl·a'ŋgo"s·da'wɑn ga'hən·e wani'ci·
[attendants] [laborers]. My kinsman very thankful

təl·i·' ɔ·ngo"'məl·ən e·'li· me·'tci· i'k·a maxte·'xɑn
that I address you because now has come the occasion, [has been]

ni·cu'kwəni· kti·'hil·i· a'la le·həl·e·'xe·n.
two days since when this life you departed.

yu'kwe e'n·da we·'tən·oma' yu'ni· kwu'tai·'k·ane
Here when I accept this one shoulder-length

ke·k' də'l·i· ke·xa'p'ton ke'ko e'n·da l·ə'l·an
wampum for me to say a little something when I speak to you

yu'kwe elaŋgo"'məlan. me·'tci· k'po"ne·'ləndaməŋ
now my kinsman. Now you must forget

yu'ni· endalausi·'eŋg" ɔk we·'mi· yu'ki· ce·
this our home [earthly existence] and all these here

e'laŋgo"'mɑ't'. ka't·ci· nate·'ləndə'ŋhan ke'ko h"tɑk·i·'
related [ones]. Don't think anything of the past

e·'li· me·'tci· kwe'ndjaxki· təl·i·' wi·taŋgo"'s·i·n
because now you are prepared for to join the existence

ɔ's·i· we'ndji·ai·k' ne'n·i· lən·apeɔ'k·an. e·'li·
of the deceased where belong the soul-spirit. As

kowa·'ton we·'mi·tc' awe·'n tɔ'penshik·a·'k·un tə'l·i
you know everybody will have this experience for to

a'la tala'us·i·n yu'ni· e'ndale·ləmu'k·weŋg". nanen-
depart this existence, life now in this our earthly home. That

wu'ndji· ha't·e kwi·'tələt·owakan kwi·n pi·''pɔ'n·dəmən
is why indeed the teaching many times you have heard

təl·i·'tc' awe·'n wendja''kənan ɔk pi·'li·ha·'n na'ni·
that will a person prepare and purify that

lənə'p·eɔ'k·an təl·i·'tc' ma·tco"'xwen cəxaxki·'i·
soul-spirit that it will go homeward straightforwardly, directly

wendji·'ai·k' ko"xənə·'niŋg kic·e·'ləmu'k·ɑŋ. yu'
where belong our father the creator. Now

[46] The following is a solemn monologue by the master-of-ceremony kneeling over the grave. He is addressing the deceased.

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764 539 wani'ci·. tep·i·'laha'p·a wəli·ᵗ kəle·ᵉ'ləndа enxa'p'toᵘ-
thanks. It is sufficient well to remember what I have

neᵉ'ya.
said.

The master-of-ceremony now turns to and addresses the people present who are standing before the grave. [No ceremonial grouping is here required.]

elaŋgundiengᵛ kəneᵉ'məneᵉn ełki·'kwi· k'təma'k·a
Our kindred we can see how pitiful

ɔk ci·'eləndamowa'k·an·u ə'nda ci·'kwi·neᵉ'eŋg.
and its sadness when we are orphaned.

kəneᵉ'məneᵉn ełki·'kwi· poᵘtci·hil·a'eŋgᵛ wa'ka
We can see how we miss the deceased

wi·kɔ's·i·tᵗ elaŋgoᵘ'meŋg. ɔk keᵉpe'n·a teᵉ'ka wə'li·
departed our relative. And be careful well

kəleᵉ'ləndamu't·am təli·'tcᵗ ga'xtaᵗ mi'ŋgaxseᵉ'i·
to think so that will must better

ləs·i·'neᵉn. pi·''pɔnda'wəna ki·'kayo'yəmənaniŋga
we do. We have heard our deceased ancestors

ełki·'kwi· haŋgᵛ wi·nowa'm'kweŋg tə'li·
how said they begged us, plead with us that

kitci·'t·eᵉheᵉ'i· pɔna'elɔn·damɔneᵉ'n eᵉ'lau'si·'eŋgᵛ eᵉ'li·
with all our heart we consider our own life how

ha't·e aleᵉpə'ndowa'k·an pi·'ci· [17] wa'ni· lən·a'p·e
indeed exists the teaching in reality the Delaware

mi·łkwu'ɛ·i·tᵗ. nanewu'ndji aweᵉ'n pi'ci· aᵉ' wə'li·
handed down. That is why a person there should in reality carefully

keᵉ'naxkeᵉlə'n·damɔn pɔmau''sowa'k·an təli·'tcᵗ wəli·'
study [his] life so that carefully

wendja''konaᵃ'n neᵉ'li·l hᵗᵛt·ɔn·apeɔ'k·ana. pi·''pɔndа'-
prepare that his soul-spirit. We have

mɔnen lə'm·we nɔ'tci· we'skᵗhakam·i·'k·e nɔ'tci
heard a long time ago in the beginning of the earth since has been

wa''kutᵗ ełki·'kwi· ahoᵘ'hɔ'ltuk mɔ't·omak·an na'n'i·
known how hard to travel his road that

[17] If someone should contradict a speaker he would exclaim pi'ci·, "It's a fact," "It's so!";—eᵉ "there should," a mild imperative.

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ko^{u}'xəna pi·'ɬsi·t' mani't·o. cukwa'nd awe·'n we·lau''-
our father the pure spirit. But any person cleanly

si·t' mi'ŋgaxse təp·owe·'ləndaməŋ
living less handicap, advantageous easy he feels it to be

mu't·əme·n ne'n·i·təma'k·an. awe·'n paxki·'skitcila'u'si·t'
to follow, to tread in the path. Anyone heedless, careless life living

a'hohɔ'ɬkut' mət·oma'k·an. e·'li· ko^{u}'xəna tahɔ'l·au
his is hard road. Because our father loves

we·'mi· təmi·mą'səma wu'ndjitc awe·'n ula·te·'nami·n
all his children that is why a person will enjoy life

ə'n·da wə'li· ɔk nala'i· le'hele·'xe·t'. ən·da'neŋg
when properly and quietly he lives. When he sees

we·'mi ke'ko na'xpən·e yu'ni· pe·mi·ga'xtiŋg pəna'
every thing including the the year even

yu'kwe ə'n·da ta'xkɔkəna'mi·eŋg we·'mi· ke'ko
now this time when it is fall every thing

ki·ci·'kan ɔk ə'nda wuski·si·'kɔŋ we·'mi· ke'ko
has matured and when early spring-time every thing

sak·a'ɬkɔt ɔk ki·'ki·ckwi·'k·e k'təma'n·daməne·n təli·'
grows, buds out and day by day we feel that

pe'tci· k'cəte·'kamən na'ni xą'səna ki·'cux
the coming heat that he our brother the sun

ki·'ckwun·o^{u}'ke·s ɔk ke'naxke·ləmuk·o^{u}'nə ko^{u}'xəna
day-moon and he takes care of us our father

ge·tan'to'wi·t ti·t'pukwi·'k·e ɔk nahəli·' na'ni·
Creator during the night and including him

xą'səna ni·'pai·ki·'cux. nawu'ndji we·'mi· ek·ala·'mi·
our brother night-moon. From this all according

pe'tci· mi·ɬkwu'si·t' tci·'tan·os·owa'k·an manitu'wak
coming their given power, strength spirits

hukwe·'yuŋg o'nda le·ləmu'k·uk ɔk nahəli·' ne·'ki·k'
above where dwell, and including those

wi·'t·au'su'm'kweŋg[11] yu'tali· endalau'si·'eŋg cə·'la-
who live among us here . where we live [on earth]. That is

haneni·' elaŋgu'ndieŋg pi·''pɔnda'mənə·n ə'nda ale·-
that our kindred we have heard when we

[11] Referring to tree, water, vegetable, fruit, animals, deer, birds, spirits, who live on earth among us.

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764 po'm'kweŋgʷ ki·'kayoyɔmaⁿn·l'ŋga. yu'kwɔtci·teˈ
539 were being taught by our deceased ancestors. Now then yet

kʷt·en·au''ki· yu'kwe wu'ndji· te'l·ən ɔk kwu't·l·
one other thing. This [day] hence ten and one

t'xo'k·wɔnɑk'ha'k·e kowato'"ne"n eli·'xiŋg tɔli'teˈ
days you know the rule that

we"'mi· awe"'n ga'xta pet·o"'n ki·'ɛɔmaɔ'k·an e"'li·
every body must bring feast "cooked food" because

na'n·e lɑk·hi'k·wi· da''kwi·p'hɔ't·i·n."
at that time a feast, we shall have ["eating together"].

e"'li· pi·''pon·da'wɔna ki·kayoyɔmɔnaⁿn·i'ŋga ehela''-
Because we have heard our dead ancestors what

konotɔmi'xti·t' lowe"'yɔk hɑŋg o'n·da te'l·ən ɔk
they said about it they said [said] when ten and

kwu't·i t'xo'k'wɔni ɔ'n·da le·la'ɔhɔk pa·t' na'ni·
one days when mid-sky [zenith] comes the

txɑ'sɔna gi·ckwuni·' gi·'cux nɑtc' me·k·ɔni·'hil·a·k'
our brother day moon [sun] and then the last time

kwi·pɔma·'nen wa'ni· wi·kaɔ's·i·t. ɔk kowa·to"'nen
we eat together, feast that departed. And we know

we"'mi· awe"'n a'pi·'lowa wi·'kɔs·i·'li·t' e·lɑŋgɔma''tci
everybody there is deceased relative

naneki·'ckwi·k kwi·pɔma'wɔna elɑŋgo'meŋ a'lɑnde
that day we eat with our relations some

lɔmwe''kami·k kɔni'm'kalgo"'nɑ lowe"'nhɑŋg paxkɑ'ndji·
times long ago left us it is also said extremely

wɔle"'lɔndamowa'k·an. ɔ'nda awe"'n ma't·a pe't·a·k'ʷ
gladness, joy. When anyone does not bring

me'hmi·'tciŋg ci'xkuŋdj me't·aelɔ'ndam elɑŋgo"'meŋ
food very disappointed, grieved [are] our relative

tɔliŋgɔ's·i·n pe'mi·'tsaxtiŋg lo'we"[10] k'tɔma'k·elɔ'mwi·
they look on those eating he says sadly, pitifully

ne"'pehɑtc' pet·a'k·e mi·'tci·a. cela'hɔnen elɑŋ-
"Did anybody for me bring me food?" Now then my

[9] The feast usually given to the deceased one year after his death is called *wi·ho"'mwi·n*, the feast to the individual deceased, only a few relatives taking part. In the *da'kwi·'p'hɔt·i·n*, both the living and the dead are believed to be feasting together.

[10] Referring to the neglected spirit, who now speaks.

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gu'ndieŋg lak'hi'k·wi· a'hot' toli·' awe·'n woli·'
kindred how difficult [it is] for anyone carefully

n'ha'o'tun eli·'xiŋg alepondowa'k·an. yu'kwelap·i·
to follow the rule teaching. Now again

kəmi·'ko"lae'məł ndəla'ŋgundo"'stuk' te·'k·a wəli·'
I call to your memory my kindred (vocative) be cautious carefully

ke·'naxki·to"'tam ga't·a we'ndjaxkəna'wəna na'n·i·
you observe we must we prepare the

ləna'p·ɔok·an ne·'li· kwi·ya·'gwi· wəlamałsi·'eŋg" ok'
soul-spirit while still in good health we are and

wəlo'ləm·uk·weŋg na'ni· ko'xəna ge·tan'to'wi·t'. e·'li·
the blessings of him our father the Creator. Because

elaŋgu'ndieŋg ako'· kowa·to"'nen wi·xka'utci·a·' kwu't·i·
my kindred not we know how suddenly in one

spa'ŋgweɔk·an natc' alaha't·e yu'ni· əndalausi·'eŋg".
winking of an eye besides then the end this our earthly home.

e·'li· ko"'xəna təli·' gi·ce·'ləmi·n ɔk' wuni·'hil·a'təmən
Because our father so created and he has the power

elki·'kwi· kwe·tənəma'k·weŋg kle'hel·e·'xeyɔk·anə'na.
sufficient to take from us our life.

e·laŋgu'ndieŋg a'hi· k'hahe·lən·a'uk·i· ke'ko ge·'aki·a'
Our kindred very many are things which I could

kweita'kənu'təmu'lan cuk'" elaŋgu'ndieŋg me·'tci·
explain to you [interpet to you] but my kindred now

ta'hi·hwu'ska k'təma·k'si·'həna. ni·'p·əna nda'hi·
very greatly we are weak and unable. I myself very

ke'ko li·'laem·a n'ha'k·ai e·'li· haŋg" ma't·a
matter grieved myself because it is said not

te·p·i·'hi·le·'i· pəna'eləndämowa'k·an. cuk'" wani'ci·
broad enough my mind [mentality]. But I am thankful,

ko"'pən·e məca·'taməne·n eli·'xiŋg yu'ni· ale'pon-
however, we remember the rule and this teach-

dowa'k·an ɔk' wu'ndji kwəla·'te·nami·'nen ə'nda
ing and on account of it it brings us joyous feeling when

neɔk'"ti·'yeŋg kwi·ya'k·wi· ɔse'i·k'tenxi'ŋhəna. ɔk'
we see each other we being still quite a number [of us] many of us. And

naxpo'xkwe·nen ə'nda pə'ndameŋg ko'xəna tɔ'p'-
we take with us when we hear our father his

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764 539 tona'k·an e·'li· ke·'ski· lə's·i·eŋgw ga't·a wəli·'laeha'-
word because our best we do to try to

wən·a na'ni· ke·'tan'to'wi·t' pe·'tci ki·ce'ləmuk·oŋ.
please the Great Spirit even our Creator.

wani'ci· te·'p·i·lahap·a.[81]
I thank you, this is all for now.

Preparations For The Burial

Free Translation.

And now, my kindred, this person is dead. It is hard to explain how things should be done when a person is dead. First is the sitting up (wake), as is sometimes said. Four men are employed for the game because they play the moccasin game all night. Now when it is almost dawn, then those who dressed up the deceased shoot three times towards the east. Thrice they discharge guns. And then afterwards they awaken everybody. Two men and two women begin to prepare food and after they have eaten everything is made ready to put the body into the box. And the food must be cooked in a hurry so that there will be time enough to make the hole (grave). And also the food is separated by those who are in attendance who eat and those his kindred, and the orphans and relatives. And also anyone else may eat with them. Now when they bring this body to the group of pitiful bodies (graves), the hole is made ready. Then they lower the body and someone next is selected as speaker.

Address By An Invited Speaker

"Here now, my kindred, now this grave is ready. All his belongings are ready to be divided among the laborers (pallbearers). Now, my kinsman,[82] I am indeed thankful that I can address you because the time of two days has elapsed since you departed this life. Here when I accept this one shoulder length of wampum as an inducement for me to say something when I address you, now, my kinsman. Now you must forget this our earthly existence and all these here

[81] This terminates the address of the speaker at the grave.

[82] This solemn monologue is addressed to the deceased by the master-of-ceremony as he kneels over the grave.

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related ones. Do not think anything of the past, because you are now prepared to join the existence of the deceased where the soul spirit belongs. As you know, everybody will have the experience to depart this life. This is our earthly home, that is why, indeed, you have heard many times that a person should prepare and purify the soul-spirit so that it will go homeward directly where dwells Our Father, our Creator. Now, thanks. It is required to remember well what I have said."

[The Master-of-Ceremony now turns and addresses the people present who are standing before the grave.]

"Our kindred, we can see how pitiful it is and its sadness when we are orphaned. We can see how we miss the departed deceased, our relative, and we must be careful to think well upon it so that we may do better. We have heard our deceased ancestors how, it is said, they begged and pleaded with us that we should consider our own life earnestly as it stands in the teaching of reality handed down to the Delaware. That is why a person should positively and carefully study his life to prepare properly his soul-spirit. We have heard, a long time ago in the beginning of the earth, since it was known, how to travel the road of Our Father, the Pure Spirit. But any person living cleanly has less handicap and feels it easy to tread in the path. Anyone living a careless life has a difficult road. Because Our Father loves all of his children that is why a person can enjoy life when he lives properly and quietly. When he sees everything, even the passage of the year, even now at this time when fall is coming on, everything has matured; or in the early springtime when everything is budding out, day by day we feel the coming on of the heat which he, our Elder Brother, the Day Moon (sun) gives it, and as he, our Father, the Creator, takes care of us during the night along with him our Elder Brother, the Night Moon. Wherefore all is according to the strength given them by the spirits above, where they dwell, and also those who live among us here where we live on earth. It is that, our kindred, which we have heard when we were being taught by our deceased ancestors. Now, there is yet one

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764 other thing. Ten and one days from this day, you know it
539 is the rule that everybody must bring cooked food because at that time we celebrate the feast.

"As we have heard our deceased ancestors, as they spoke about it, saying as we are told, when ten and one days, when in mid-sky (noon) comes our Elder Brother, the Day Moon (sun), then we eat together for the last time with the departed. And we know, all of us, that on that day our deceased relative is there as we eat with our relations, some having left us in the ancient days, as is said, bringing us extreme joy and gladness. When anyone does not bring food our relative is disappointed and grieved as he beholds those who are eating and says sadly, 'Did anyone bring food for me?' Now then, my kindred, how difficult it is for a person to follow the teaching and the rules properly. Now again, I call to your memory, kindred, how difficult it is for a person to follow the teaching and rules properly. Now again, I call to your memory, kindred, to be cautious and carefully observe how we must prepare the soul-spirit while we are still in good health and enjoying the blessings of him Our Father, the Creator, because kindred, we do not know how suddenly in one wink of an eye, even then the end may be of this our earthly home, because Our Father so created our life and he has sufficient power to take it from us.

"Kindred, very many are the things which I could explain to you, but kindred, now we have become very weak and pitiful. I, myself, am very much grieved over the matter because, as it is said, my mind is not sufficient for it but I am, nevertheless, thankful that we remember the rule and this teaching, from which we derive a feeling of joy as we see each other, there being quite a number of us. And we take away with us Our Father's word when we hear it as we do our utmost to try and please the Great Spirit, even Our Creator. I thank you. This is all for now."

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were buried in the ground. Two years later there came suddenly to visit there two women. All about they inquired in vain for their husbands. Again they assembled and sent for these women. They informed them saying that right over there under those trees were buried two creatures who came among us two years ago, bringing with them a bad thing. And behold there were sixty of us as many as they had killed. They then decided, these women, that one night, as said, no one knew where these men had gone. When it was explained to them they said they were the same men. Whereupon they were told, "You Nanticoke alone know of the evil-medicine." They replied, "That is not what it was intended for, namely that anyone should take life. But it is intended to be used for divination. Thus it is to be used when we wish to know how anyone is, or where they may be camped. When in time of fear during war-time they send out scouting men to guard all around in order that no one may surprise them, anybody not on peaceful terms with us."

Afterwards one foolish young man while visiting among the Nanticoke borrowed that witchcraft medicine. Down to this day it was never taken back. And there was wampum used when borrowing. So this is a known fact that if anyone does not rightly observe the custom he himself, his family or his relatives would suffer affliction from some mysterious cause. From that day it originated and was introduced to mankind, among the barbarous tribes all over the earth where dwell the red-skinned people on this continent. That is how the Delawares knew of it.

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NANTICOKE SKELETON DANCE

A few words of explanation may make clearer the symbolism of this strange rite. The feast of the dead possesses features to be remarked upon as characteristic of tribes of the southeastern area who perform a reburial of the bones of the deceased, after which the soul is permanently dismissed from association with kindred living upon earth.

The Nanticoke have long been notorious for the custom,

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attributed to them by a number of authorities [11] covering almost three centuries, of removing the flesh from the bones of the dead and preserving them in bundles which were kept for a time by the family of the deceased, finally to be buried together in an ossuary as certain sources tell us, or kept in a building called a "bone house." [12] This strange funeral institution is undoubtedly of far southern origin as MacLeod has independently announced.[13] Quotations from the sources have been so numerous in literature dealing with the Nanticoke that it is not urgent to reproduce them here. There is, however, reason to note an extension of the custom to the Delawares which the latter, as I interpret probabilities, have acquired through association with the Nanticoke. The two tribes appear to have had close association throughout the span of their known history. A Delaware author of 1890, R. C. Adams, gives particulars of a Skeleton Dance practiced by the "Wolf Clan" of the Delawares which traced its origin to the Nanticoke. This description of the dance which I quote, coincides in part with the features of the ceremony described in the following text by Wi'tapano'xwe.

"*Human Skeleton Dance.* Given only by the Wolf Clan of the Delawares. A certain dance given as a memorial to the dead was supposed to clear a way for the spirit of the deceased to the spirit land.

[11] William Vans Murray, "Manuscript Vocabulary of the Nanticoke" (1792), Collections of American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, edited with notes by D. G. Brinton, *Trans. Amer. Phil. Society*, Philadelphia, 1892. See also F. G. Speck "The Nanticoke and Conoy Indians," 1, Historical Society of Delaware, Wilmington, 1927, pp. 32–5; Heckewelder (1819), *op. cit.*, p. 92; D. Brainerd (1745), "Life of Brainerd," Philadelphia, 1838, pp. 169–72; Gabriel Thomas (1698), "An Historical and Geographical Account of Pennsylvania and West Jersey," Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware. Ed. by A. C. Myers, New York, 1920, p. 340.

[12] Given by Murray as "Chiocason- or awacason- house," a term apparently related to Virginia Powhatan "quiocason" of corresponding meaning. The Nanticoke vocabulary also gives the term "Matzucksumpq." Reconstruction of this strange combination of consonants results apparently in resolving it to something akin to Delaware *ma'tci'kami·k*, denoting "abandoned or condemned ground" or "the house of the abandoned" meaning a grave. The term has been recorded more accurately by Hariot (1588) as "machacomoco" in the dialect of the tidewater Virginia tribes.

[13] W. C. MacLeod, "Priests, Temples and the Practice of Mummification in Southeastern North America." XXII Congresso Internazionale degli Americanisti, Roma, 1926, pp. 228–9.

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When a member of the Wolf Clan died, the flesh was stripped from the bones and buried, and the bones were dried at some private place. At the end of twelve days the skeleton would be wrapped in white buck skin and taken to a place prepared for the dance and there held up by someone. As the singers would sing the men who held the skeleton would shake it and the bones would rattle as the dancers would proceed around it. After the dance the skeleton was buried. Tradition says that in ancient times some of the head men in the Wolf Clan had a dream that they must treat their dead in that way, and the custom has been handed down to them for many centuries. The other clans say the custom does not belong to them. The custom has been long dropped. There has not been a skeleton dance since 1860." [14]

Harrington refers to information collected on the ceremony but prefers Adam's account in his memoir without further comment (Harrington, *op. cit.*, pp. 183–184). There may, however, be some unreliable statements in the Adams description.[15]

Zeisberger's description of the ceremony is also at variance with the others, but in several essential features the versions agree. Thus he observes:

"The Nantikoks (Nantikokes) of whom more in another place, have this singular custom that about three or four months after the funeral they open the grave, take out the bones, clean them of the flesh and dry them, wrap them up in new linen and inter them again. A feast is usually provided for the occasion, consisting of the best they can afford. Only the bones of the arms and legs of the corpse are thus treated. All the rest is buried or burned." [16]

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Archaeological evidence is at hand to extend the Nanticoke practice into the country of the Iroquois who gave them asylum after 1760 in the shelter of the League. The Susquehanna people, whose burial remains were considered by Moorehead to be of the Iroquoian type, show "bundle burial" as

[14] R. C. Adams, "Notes on the Delaware Indians," Report on Indians Taxed and Indians not Taxed, U. S. Census, 1890, p. 299.

[15] The account by Adams is not to be explicitly relied upon as a source. Adams, among other claims, assumed the honor of being the only descendant of Chief Captain White Eyes, and so had himself portrayed. This statement is not accepted without modification by the Delawares, for we are told that his mother was a white woman and his father was scarcely more than one fourth Indian and that of Stockbridge (ɔ'p an u) Mahikan descent adopted by the Delawares. The name ɔ'p an u "easterner" was applied to the Stockbridge and the Iroquois in general.

[16] Zeisberger, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

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far north as Athens, Pa., on the Susquehanna river, where bones were "heaped beside or over the skull." [17] This form of disposal of the dead is by no means limited to the area or disposed of by this single reference.

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That the ceremony described may have been performed by a Nanticoke contingent in the old Delaware Nation is possible in view of the fact that the Nanticoke have been referred to as constituting a "Wolf Clan," one of the ceremonial groupings, whenever we have mention of their social identity.[18]

We cannot, however, decide how and when the Delaware acquired this strange rite diffused from the peoples south of them, yet it is evident from Lindeström (1654–6) that it was known to them in southeastern Pennsylvania, and therefore this locale should be indicated as lying within the area of distribution of the custom of skeleton cleaning and bone burial.

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The interesting and important short text to follow recounts the traditional facts descriptive of the Skeleton Dance as maintained by a small Nanticoke sect among the Delawares as late as 1860, before the Nation had removed from Kansas to Indian Territory.

The Nanticoke of the Delaware Nation kept up the following performances until about 1860. Due then to inter-

[17] W. K. Moorehead, "The Susquehanna Archaeological Expedition," Second Report of Pennsylvania Historical Commission, Harrisburg, 1918, p. 122. From one to seven burials were in the same grave. In one ossuary were bundle burials indicating that the bones had been deposited in a pit subsequent to the disappearance of the flesh, evidence that they had been cleaned of flesh and buried. Also D. S. Davidson, "Burial Customs in the Delmarva Peninsula and the Question of their Chronology," *American Antiquity*, 1, no. 2, 1935, pp. 84–97 shows archaeological evidence of bundle burial and bone cleaning as a recent trait in the Slaughter Creek neighborhood of Maryland. Dr. Davidson also gives a summary of bone-cleaning burial customs in the east and in the southeast from whence the idea had originally spread. See also pertinent discussion by W. B. Marye, *ibid.* II, no. 1, 1936, pp. 40–6.

[18] Among the Nanticoke descendants incorporated with the Six Nations Iroquois at Brantford, Ontario, it was found that the tribe was remembered as a homogeneous group under the title of the "Wolf Clan" (Speck, "Nanticoke and Conoy Indians," *op. cit.*, p. 22) and a similar inference may be made from the statement of Adams (see f. n. 14 above, *op. cit.*, p. 299) who defines the Human Skeleton Dance as a "Wolf Clan" rite.

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tied a cross piece of wood and dressed up the figure of the man or woman like a doll, upon it (beneath the skull). And they put the bones of the deceased right opposite each of the posts. Now, when it has become dark, they begin their dance. Everybody who is to take part in the dance is named, also those who do the singing. And each performer is ceremonially presented with wampum, also the leader of the dance. They dance (in a circle in front of the posts, bearing the skulls and effigies moving counter-clockwise) all night. And when it is beginning to be daylight, they sing the last song, these drummers and singers. This is what they say in the song, according to tradition, "You said before you died, 'I will come when you call me!' Now here I am calling you."

Some additional notes on the procedure of the Skeleton Dance were recorded in Oklahoma from Mrs. Minnie Fouts, an aged Delaware, whose mother had taken part in the ceremony and who had mentioned some of the details to her when a young girl. We learn that the ceremony was performed near a fire, but far enough away so that there was no light. They had to dance around the effigies in the dark. The men who attended each of the skeletons lay down near them and shook the bones when the dancers went by. The dancers each had a gourd rattle. A kettle-drum was also used by the singers at one side. At midnight a feast of beans, bread, pumpkins, and meat was partaken of by the dancers and all smoked the pipe. Then in the morning all the food left over was gathered up and divided among the guests.

[p. 150 is blank]

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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CHAPTER XXVI.

How the American and Savage People Treat and Act Towards the Dead Body and How Their Burials Are Celebrated.

Now when the savage is dead, then an Indian is 763
sent out around the country, crying, calling and lamenting, who runs around everywhere and makes this known to the good friends of the dead savage. Then those to whom he makes it known must have compassion with him and present him with something for his trouble. A few days after- 764
wards he is buried, and then a round deep pit[1] is dug in the ground and a stool is placed in the hole upon which the dead man shall sit.[2] Then the dead man's money is placed upon him and he is set down in the pit upon the stool with a tobacco pipe, a fathom long, in his mouth, screwed together with leather, the head of green or black stone, which is lighted through by the fire in the pipe, so that we can see how the tobacco is consumed,[3] and this pipe-head is so large that a handful of tobacco will go into it, which is to be his food on the journey. This pipe they dig down into the ground from the mouth of the man.[4] Afterwards they throw earth upon him and fill up the hole. When

[1] *En trinn, diup groop.* Cf. Williams, *Key,* 160 ff. Van der Donck, De Vries, etc., *N. Y. Col.,* 2, I, 202; III, 95, etc.

[2] *En stool (stol),* chair, stool, here perhaps a round "log-stool," possibly eight or ten inches high.

[3] This would presuppose a very transparent material. Lindeström of course does not mean that the pipe in the grave was lighted, but that when a pipe was smoked, it could be seen how the tobacco was consumed.

[4] That is, the pipe stem was put into the dead man's mouth.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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this is done they dig down in the corners of a square four very long poles upon which they make three shelves, and decorate the poles with long strips of blue, red or green frieze, hanging like fringes.[5] Then those who have been the dead man's relatives and best friends set themselves down for about the period of a month to lament the departure of the dead one, singing, crying, howling and lamenting, so that it is heard for a long distance. Now when this time is past they dig up the dead one and take all his money off him, which they put in a box and place on the lowest rack or shelf, then each one takes a knife and thus cuts the flesh off the bones of the dead one, wrapping the flesh in chestnut bark, which they place on the second shelf or rack, wrapping in like manner the bones into chestnut bark [and] placing them on the upper shelf or rack; but the entrails they dig down in the hole. Afterwards they still set themselves down for about the period of 14 days and further lament the departure of the dead, and when now that time is over, then their sorrow and lamentation are gone. Those who then are the relatives and best friends of the dead take the money-chest, dividing it between themselves, and therewith go their way; but the scaffolding together with the other [things] remains standing as a monument until it falls and rots away. When now the savage is thus buried the savages do not wish to hear him mentioned by name again or to speak further about him. If the Christian should

[5] *Som buldaner hängiandes.* *Buldan* really means sail cloth or duck, but Lindeström apparently means strips or fringes.

8:Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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happen to do this,[6] who does not know of their manner, then they hang their heads and sigh and puff severely, on account of it, not desiring to hear it mentioned.[7]

During these their burials there is often robbery committed by some of the Christians. Some scoundrels go to the savages and help them to mourn, pretending to be very sorrowful and sad, lamenting and weeping much worse and more miserably than the savages, saying that the [deceased] also had been their good friend, which the savages think is well, that they get company. These scoundrels watching their time, in the night when the savages sleep, steal away their money chest, so that the sorrow and lamentation for the savages become through this, deeper and greater.

[6] See above Chapt. II, note 27. Cf. also Van der Donck, etc.

[7] "Which bewailing is very solemne amongst them morning and evening, and sometimes in the Night they bewaile their lost husbands, wives, children, brethren, or sisters &c. Sometimes a quarter, halfe, yea, a whole yeare, and longer if it be for a great Prince. In this time (unlesse a dispensation be given) they count it a prophane thing either to play (as they much use to doe) or to paint themselves for beauty, but for mourning; or to be angry and fall out with any &c." Williams, *Key*, 54.

[p. 252 is blank]

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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535 Social dances not restricted to Delaware are held whenever a person who can afford to play host feels the urge to do so.
796 Gatherings with a religious motive may be said to have practically ceased. The Doll Dance which was a family responsibility has not been held since 1929. The Big House Ceremony has not been held since 1924, and since the ceremonial structure has been demolished, there is dim possibility that it will be revived. There are still a score or so who have participated in the Big House, but some of them will make no move toward revival. The hereditary leader of the Wolf clan in the Big House, who is probably the staunchest adherent of the ceremony, is now a leader
[795] of a peyote group in which several tribes are represented. The most tangible evidence of a community spirit still extant among
[764] the Delaware is the use of a Delaware cemetery.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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588 the same pattern: uniformity of affirmation among the sources
848 and denial by all the informants except W. L. The remarks of W. L. show rather conclusively that the extension of the legal code of the whites over the Indians was largely responsible for this fourth-period change. He said that these elements were common "before the law came and then the women got mean and objected when their husbands went to see other girls." The changes indicated in the reputations of unmarried mothers and their chances of marriage (165, 167) are, of course, related to each other and derive from white contact.

582 The age of marriage was formerly much older, according to both Captain Pipe and W. L., than it was at the time of their accounts (173, 174). There is little evidence for this alleged relaxation of restrictions upon the marriageable age to be found in the source material. One might expect that the introduction
885 of firearms made some difference in the age at which a youth could support himself and hence a wife, but a bow and a supply of arrows were more easily obtained than a gun. The explanation for the comments on the independence of youth probably lies in the principle of "faith in former good times" or, to put it the other way around for this case, the principle of "present degeneration of youth." This principle of human nature is of widespread application and is found not only among many other Indian tribes but also in the beliefs of other races for the past five thousand years and more.

Death and Its Incidents

764 The treatment of their dead by the Delaware appears to have undergone little change in the time for which we have records. The preparation of the corpse shows no change with the exception of the substitution of European clothes for furs (175-79). Even now, however, moccasins and other items of Indian manufacture are used to dress the corpse when obtainable. There are two dissenters on the subject of the preparation of the corpse by unrelated persons only, one early and one modern (180). Probably there was no hard and fast rule, but nonrelatives were

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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preferred if readily available and in many cases they were not. 764 ●
The length of time the corpse was kept before burial was given as several days by the two first-period sources giving information on this point (181). In the last three periods burial was usually on the day after death, particularly in summer. Pipe said that formerly the corpse was kept three days in summer and seven in winter, because it was supposed that the tutelar deity of the [776] deceased might restore him to life. W. L. gave the same sort of an answer in a little more modern dress. He said that a body was kept one to three days, but that if death was from a serious illness, and there was no chance of his coming back to life, he was buried the next day.

The position of the corpse in burial quite evidently was changed after European contact (183). In the first period both Van der Donck and Lindeström described burials made in a sitting position either on a stool or a block of wood. Without the last detail this might be taken to mean in a flexed position but not necessarily upright. Since both these writers may have mentioned only the unusual and ignored burials in the familiar extended position, we are not sure from the documentary evidence whether the two positions were used contemporaneously or not. It is clear, however, that after some years of white contact, migration westward, and contact with other tribes, there was a change to the use of the extended position alone.

Opinion on the requirement of grave goods is divided in every period except the third (186). All the sources in that period and one or more in each of the others stated that clothes were the only grave goods required although other things might be added. Van der Donck and Lindeström in the first period, Heckewelder in the second, and J. W. in the fourth period all maintained that more than clothes was required to be put in the grave. The details of the latter's statement in connection with the actual 764 cases described by him seem to explain all the discrepancies. He 763 said that good articles left by a deceased person were given to the persons who performed the death and funeral services but that old, much-used articles were put in the grave. However, old cherished articles were frequently if not usually given to mem-

9: Kinietz E.4,5 (1938) 1946
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764 [768] bers of the family before death. Thus, while old articles were required, those possessed by an individual might be so completely disposed of before death that the requirement was impossible of fulfillment and nullified.

The statement of Captain Pipe that posts were erected only at the head of graves containing males apparently was in error, although neither of the other sources of his period reported on this element (187). The sources prior to him and the informants who followed him all reported the erection of posts at the graves of both males and females.

A moccasin game at the side of the corpse the night before burial was reported by all the informants of the fourth period as an important part of the death ceremonies (193). The game was introduced among the Delaware at least as early as the third period (see 447), but apparently did not become associated with death customs until some time after 1824.

765 Mourning observances show two very marked changes; namely, the dropping of wearing black and dawn visits to the grave (196 and 201). The wearing of black was reported definitely in the first period, ignored in the second period, both reported and denied in the third and definitely denied in the fourth. Starting in the second period, reports of the dawn visits to the grave followed the same pattern of affirmation, contradiction, and denial. The length of mourning of widow or widower is reported so differently that one cannot postulate any direction of change (194). Mourning of relatives is also reported with the same variation in length of observance (202).

761 775 Theoretically there should be a connection between the elements dealing with dread of the approach of death and belief that bodies will be restored (203 and 206). That is, one would expect a belief in the restoration of life to be accompanied by a freedom of dread of death and a lack of belief in the restoration accompanied by dread of the approach of death. Instead of this correlation, we find that only one of the four informants who denied a belief that bodies would be restored after death admitted to a dread of the approach of death. Of course, the [774] belief in the separate survival of the soul must be considered in

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+ = element present
− = element denied
(+) or (−) = source ambiguous
• = informant could not or would not say
5 = some, sometimes, or several
† or * = see Ethnographic Notes, pp. 79-137 for additional information

	Williams	Van der Donck	Lindeström	Zeisberger	Heckewelder	Johnston	Pipe	Chipps	J. W.	W. T.	E. R.	W. L.
Death and its incidents †												
175. Treatment of corpse. Eyes closed		+				+	(+)		+	+	+	+
176. Limbs straightened		+				+	(+)		+	+	+	+
177. Washed						+	+		+	+	+	+
178. Dressed				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
179. Painted				+	+				+	+	+	•+
180. By unrelated persons		−			(+)	•	+	•	+	−	+	•+
181. Kept ___ nights before burial		5	5	(1)	1	1	1	•1-4	1	1	1	1-3
182. Burial	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
183. Extended		•−	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
184. Grave depth ___ feet				+	+	3-4	3	5	5-6	4	4-5	3½-4
185. Grave lined with bark		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
186. Grave goods of clothes only required	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
187. Post at head of graves of males only				−	−	•	+	•	−	−	−	−
188. Cremation					−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
189. Take up bones and reinter			•		−	5	−	−	−	−	−	−
190. Collection of people at burial, thanks to bystanders for assistance		+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
191. Chief prays that soul may go happy						•	•	+	+	+	+	+
192. Feast at the grave							+		+			
193. Feast and moccasin game night before burial									+	+	+	+
194. Mourning. Widow or widower observes for ___ months	3-12	12	•12	12		•	•9	9	•12	•12	12	•
195. Lets hair grow loose and unkempt		•−		+			+		+	+	+	+
196. Wears black	+	+					−	+	•	−	•	−
197. Abstains from games, dances and amusement	+						+		+	+	+	+
198. Does not remarry during mourning	•	+		+		+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
199. Terminated by relatives of deceased washing, giving new clothes, etc.				+		•	+	•	•	+	5	•+
200. Visits grave ___ nights				365	21	6-7	6	•	3	4	•	4
201. Visits grave ___ dawns				365		−	6		−	−	−	−

9: Kluietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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tribes was responsible for few changes. The only one represented in this study is the acquisition of the blowgun. 177

Of course, it is a mistake to assume that the culture of the Delaware would have been without change through these three centuries if not in contact with whites. Some change in Delaware culture may very well have been the result of indigenous development. The stimulus of the culture of the whites, however, was so much stronger that it is only reasonable that native developments should have been overshadowed. Nor was the culture of the whites standing still through this period. The culture of neither of the two groups was static, but as long as the Indian group was being moved westward ahead of the spread of white settlement, a static condition was simulated for that portion of the whites in contact with the Indians. The frontier changed but frontier conditions tended to remain the same. The effect of this contact with the white frontier is obvious among the Oklahoma Delaware today. The standard of living there is roughly that of pioneer agricultural regions fifty to seventy-five years ago and in the submarginal regions today.

The hypothesis that the technological, sociological, and spiritual aspects of a culture are increasingly resistant to change in that order has been shown to accord with the facts in the case of the Delaware. Language should either be included with the last aspect or be placed fourth and last, but has been omitted as outside the scope of this study. It may be said in passing, however, that the Delaware language is used by many who have otherwise retained little of the cultural heritage of the Delaware.

It seems to me that there is a very good reason for the persistence of the elements of the old spiritual life of a people after practically all other aspects of the culture are gone. This is the fact that control of religious and death practices is usually in the hands of the older people. These are the most conservative of the entire group, as a rule, and tend toward the perpetuation of the ways of their ancestors. This conservative attitude is particularly apparent in burial customs. In these matters the younger people seek to honor the practices of their elders on the death of the latter, even if they do not believe them necessary

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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otherwise. The tendency to revert in old age to the teaching of one's childhood also serves to perpetuate the older customs, especially when it is the older people in the group that have charge of the ceremonies after death. Certainly this is the case among the Delaware. Every grave in the Delaware cemetery is oriented with the head to the east. Practically every grave bears the evidence of having been marked with a wooden post even though a stone marker was also erected. Many of the graves were enclosed with stone or wood cribs.

I conclude as a result of this study that historical culture change of the Delaware tribe can be indicated qualitatively and quantitatively by the use of an element list co-ordinated with chronology; that changes in different aspects of this culture have occurred as the result of the length of contact rather than the type of contact involved; that an acculturation study involving a single Indian tribe and the entire white civilization is necessarily one sided; that during white contact the influence of the whites upon the Delaware was almost solely responsible for the changes in the culture of the Indian tribe in question, overshadowing the effects of new contacts with other tribes; and that the process of culture change may be called acculturation or assimilation depending on the absence or presence of complete political domination.

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WELDER and JOHN JOHNSTON said that the proportion was rather more than among the whites, the former attributing the cause to the introduction of liquor.

W. T. denied that there were any sterile Indian women. W. L. said that he knew of two cases.

169. Number of Children

ZEISBERGER gave the usual number of children as 4 to 6 in one place, whereas in another he said 8 to 12.

HECKEWELDER said that generally there were 4 to 5 children in a family, while some families had 6 to 9, and a few had as many as thirteen.

173 and 174. Age of marriage

VAN DER DONCK said that both men and women commonly got married only when they were fit to do so.

DEATH AND ITS INCIDENTS

The following accounts touch on so many points not treated by the others or each other that they are given here in their entirety.

CAPTAIN PIPE—As soon as life leaves the body some distant relative of the deceased takes upon himself the charge of paying the last offices. Two men and two women, not related, are employed in washing and dressing the body, (now in a white cloth; anciently in a newly dressed skin,) which is laid upon a kind of platform where it is kept one day previous to the interment. This time was formerly three days in summer and seven days in winter, because they supposed that the tutelar deity of the deceased might restore them to life; but at this day they seem to have little faith and are apparently anxious to get the corpse out of sight as soon as decency will permit. The two male attendants prepare a coffin in which they place the body, and it is borne by them to the grave, preceded by the relatives and succeeded by the more distant friends. The grave is dug about three feet deep and the coffin is covered with earth as among the whites. Before they knew the use of boards the grave was lined with bark and the body pro-

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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764 tected by a covering of the same before throwing in the earth. At the grave one of the relatives renders thanks to the bystanders for their assistance and the mourners return home.

765 For six days after the interment the near relatives visit the grave twice in each day; once at the break of day, and again at the going down of the sun. In the latter case they frequently remain until late at night. They seat themselves upon the grave, and not a word is spoken, but each is bowed down to the ground [776] in perfect silence. These visits are said to be made to the deceased who may not have set out upon his journey to the land of spirits and would of course like company during his stay.

They have no particular ceremony of mourning except that they abstain from games, dances and other amusements for twelve days, which by the husband or wife of a deceased person is continued for nine months, at the end of which time the relatives of the partner of this chief mourner make and present to him or her a new suit of clothes and formally pronounce their willingness for another marriage. They never paint themselves during the mourning season, as is the custom among the Chippeway's, but they divest themselves of all unnecessary apparel and of their ornaments, and suffer their hair to flow loosely about their necks.

769 It is customary among them to offer the first fine products of
765 the hunting season and the first fruits of the earth at the grave of the deceased. The meat or vegetables being cooked are carried thither by the relatives and a guest not connected with the deceased, is invited to eat that portion which would have been his if living. Silence is preserved during the feast and when it is finished the guest addresses the deceased in a kind of prayer, assuring him (or her) of the extreme regret of the friends left behind and imploring him to rest satisfied with the great change and not to return for the purpose of taking away any of the remaining relatives. Mr. Conner once saw the sister of a chief buried upon the banks of White River and this prayer was addressed to her by her brother, before the earth was thrown upon the body. They sometimes omit the ceremony of the feast at the grave, after a short time, but it has been known to continue for years, and is often renewed upon the appearance of any mis-

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769
fortune which can be attributed to the malignant spirit of the 765 deceased.

They never burn the bodies of the deceased persons, nor do 764 they take up the bones for reinterment. They say that the Nanticokes were in the habit of placing the body of the deceased upon a scaffold, where it was suffered to remain until the flesh decayed, when the friends and relatives assembled to pay the last duties to the bones. At this time a dance, called the Spirit dance, took place, in which they had the figure of a human being drawn upon a skin which was stretched over a hoop and suspended in the air. Under this figure sat the singers who continued their songs all the night, for if one of them thro' indolence or excessive fatigue stopped his song, it was an indication of his speedy death. The day succeeding the dance the friends assembled again at the same spot and large presents were distributed by one of the near relatives of the deceased. This man held in his hand a small ball, and placing himself in the midst of a circle formed by the spectators he would pretend to make frequent attempts to throw the ball out of the ring. At length he would throw it where it was least expected, and he who was so fortunate as to catch it received a portion of the presents. This was repeated until all the goods were given out, and at each return of the ball the figure on the skin was made to bow to it. After the distribution of the goods the bones were collected, put into a kind of box and buried in the ground. If a death happened at a distance from the village, as in hunting or on a journey, the flesh was separated from the bones by cutting, the bones were burned until they became perfectly dry and then transported to the place of burial, where the same ceremonies took place.

As Mr. Heckewelder has said, many ceremonies take place at [776] the interment of a distinguished personage, which are not common on other occasions; such are distributing presents, feasting etc.; but the general customs are such as have been here related.

They sometimes put articles of furniture or clothing in the graves, as a gun for a man, a kettle for a woman; but this is not considered necessary, and arises only from the desire of the relatives to express some marked esteem for the deceased.

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764 At the head of a warrior it is common for them to place a white post, upon which is represented in hieroglyphics the tribe to which he belonged, the number of engagements in which he had been engaged, of scalps which he had taken, etc.; but no post is placed at the graves of women.

763 It is very customary among them to take leave of their friends when death approaches. In this they generally exhort them to good conduct, to live in harmony with each other and thus to procure the favor of the Great Spirit, and success in their undertakings. Some of them who have led improper and dissolute [761] lives dread very much the approach of death, but others die in perfect reconciliation to their fate. They generally die in possession of their mental faculties to the last moment, but to this many exceptions are found, resulting from the nature of the disease or the impression which the idea of death may have upon their minds.

764 J. W.—Two men and two women not related to deceased were chosen to take care of things relating to funeral. In the death of a man, the men prepared the body while the women cooked; the women prepared the body of a woman while the men cooked. [768] The relatives divided and distributed good articles left by the deceased among the persons who served. Old, much used articles were put in the grave.

The face of the deceased was painted as in life. The body was dressed in Indian clothes which had to be new. If the deceased did not have new clothes, they made them.

The corpse was kept until noon of the day after death before burial. It was placed in bark house outside of dwelling. Moccasin game played on south side of fire. Two pairs of moccasins were used but only one bullet. Towards morning (three o'clock) one pair was taken away. Points in the game were counted with about one hundred little sticks. After the one pair of moccasins [525] was taken away the winner of a counter threw it into the fire. The game is not played now but some one, usually one of the attendants, sits up all night with the corpse. No feast accompanied the game but food was available for all visitors.

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In the morning all the people lined up east of where the corpse was laid, and one of the male attendants shot a gun eastward over the heads of the assembled friends and relatives, then handed the gun to the other male attendant who also shot it in the same direction. 764

In the case of a deceased man, just before the burial there were two men chosen, who went off and talked about the deceased. Then they got twelve little sticks about three or four inches long which they gave to a woman, not related to the deceased or his widow. This woman conducted the widow once around the grave before the corpse was covered. She proceeded counterclockwise and on each step placed her heel just ahead of the toe of the foot on the ground. She led the widow by joining their left hands. The widow was careful to step in the footsteps of her conductor. After the circuit of the grave, the conductor walked off in the same manner, and putting each stick in her mouth for an instant handed it over her shoulder to the widow whose hand had been released. The widow threw sticks alternately over each shoulder until all twelve were gone. Then while the conductor was leading the widow farther off, the attendants commenced filling the grave. Except for the reverse of the sexes the same procedure was used for a widower.

The corpse was placed in a casket at the head of which there was a hole and also a red painted cross (like a large X). Formerly the chief got down on one knee before the grave was filled and talked to the deceased, telling him to forget those who were left behind and not to bother them. Old Man Hill does it now. He had a vision giving him the power—not every one can do it. No one can do it for his own family. [767 782]

Formerly a house 12′ by 6′ was built over each grave, using six logs on each side and then covering the structure with clapboards. Now only posts are erected at the head of the graves, all of which are headed to the East. The post differs for men and women. That for a woman has a crosspiece like a Christian cross; the ends of the crosspiece and the top of the upright may carry diamond-shaped figures. These figures or the plain ends are outlined with red paint and six crosses are painted in red on

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764 the upright below the crosspiece (also like large X's). The post for a man is a simple upright, the top of which may be carved into an elaborate triple diamond-shaped figure or not, but at any rate the top is cut at an angle so that there is a sharp edge uppermost. Red paint is also put on the top of the man's post, but only four crosses are painted lower down on the post.

Immediately after the burial there was a feast on the east side of the grave. Food was furnished by everybody; that brought by relatives was kept separately on the north side of the grave. Relatives ate the food brought by nonrelatives, while nonrelatives ate food brought by relatives. Man who talked
765 at grave talked again at end of feast, and if the deceased belonged to the Wolf division, announced the coming of another feast twelve days after the death at the home of the deceased. At this second feast there was the same division of food between relatives and nonrelatives as at the feast at the grave. This second feast was not held among the Turtle or Turkey people unless there was some Wolf mixed in.

Every evening for three days after burial the relatives visit the grave and build a little fire which is immediately put out. Just a little fire is all that is necessary—it blazes once and then
[775] is blown out—it sort of liberates the spirit of deceased. Usually only one person visits grave. Do not visit grave after three days.

The widow must not change her clothing until the feast at the twelfth day. She eats off same plate. The woman attendant takes care of her, she must not do anything for herself—must not touch food, touch hair with comb or anything else—wears gloves. Her attendant washes her hair and body just before the feast and dresses her in new clothes, furnished by deceased husband's relatives. She stays home for these twevle days—does not even walk out without her attendant. No other mourning except that she cannot marry for a year. Same thing for widower. Near relatives observe care for a year.

763 A person about to die knows everything going on—reviews his life—knows everything—tries to say it with last breath.

764 W. T.—The body was prepared by two men and two women,
767 who might be related or not. It was washed, painted, combed

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and dressed in best clothes. There was no payment to persons 764
performing these services. The corpse was kept until noon of 767
the day after death. During this time the relatives and others
played moccasin game with four moccasins and two bullets. The [525]
grave was dug about four feet deep with the head to the East.
Never put anything into the grave. After the grave was filled
in the folks of the deceased who took care of the bereaved spouse
led him or her once around the grave, clockwise, natural steps,
not holding hands, but spouse was careful to step in the tracks
of the leader. Twelve sticks were thrown away during this cir-
cuit. Spouse was then led away from the grave. He or she then 765
visited the grave every evening about six or seven o'clock for four
nights, made a little fire, just lighted it and immediately blew
it out. Talked to deceased at this time. During these four days
relict did not wash, comb or paint. Was attended by the kin
folks of the deceased. At the end of this period he or she was
washed, combed and dressed in new clothes—sometimes offered
new spouse in the person of the sister or brother of the deceased
o take care of him or her. Always accepted. Formerly, two
years passed before relict was told to go free if not given a new
spouse at the end of the four-day period. Two years was too long,
so about one or two hundred years ago the time was reduced to
one year. Relict did not attend games, dances, etc. for one- or
two-year period. Other relatives observed same mourning as
relict for four-day period.

Preacher prayed after death and also at burial—talked to 764
deceased and told him to forget those who were left and to go 782
home and be happy. Graves were surrounded by trees laid in
a crib about three feet high and then covered with boards. Posts
were erected at head of graves of both men and women. The
posts might be painted or not. Diamond-shaped figures carved
on posts were not Delaware but Shawnee, as were the painted
figures or crosses. The post for men carried a crosspiece, whereas
that for women was an upright with a pointed top. Said that
the only feast offered the deceased was before burial.

E. R.—After death fix bark house outside of dwelling in which 764
corpse was placed with head to East. In the house there were fires

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764 on the north and south sides. Men assembled on the south side and the women on the north. They sang with drum accompaniment and played the moccasin game with two pairs of moccasins and one bullet. There was a feast before sundown. Burial was before sunup the day after death. The chief or some old man prayed and talked to deceased. All circled the grave clockwise, each throwing in a little dirt. The chief then talked to the widow and told her not to get married for a year. She must not attend dances or games for a year. The widow and immediate relatives did not wash, comb their hair or change their clothes for four days after a death. A widow visited grave irregularly and left food the same way. A crib of logs, four to six feet high, was placed around the grave and then covered over. A stick two to three inches thick was placed at the head of every grave. The point of the stick was six to seven inches long and painted red. There was a difference in the sticks for men and women but not sure just what, believed that women had a cross which was painted.

[782] [584]

179 and 180. Corpse painted by unrelated person

W. L.—Body was prepared by two men and two women appointed from nonrelatives. One man marked the face of the deceased with paint and then one of the women came along and added some marks.

181. Corpse kept—nights before burial

Captain Chipps—The funeral in warm weather is attended the day after death. In winter the body is kept three or four days.

183. Burials extended.

Both Van der Donck and Lindeström said that a corpse was buried in a sitting position and placed either on a wooden block or a stool.

189. Take up bones and reinter

765 Lindeström said that the body was buried a few days after death, then for a period of about a month the departed was mourned, at the end of which time the body was disinterred and

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It is expected that the announcement be made before the members of the tribal council at one of its meetings prior to the time of notification. In the instance of our text Wi·tapano'xwe decided to recite the ceremony as though it were brought in and sponsored by Chief Elk-Hair, the present head chief of the Oklahoma Delawares whom Harrington referred to as an active ceremonial leader in 1910.[1]

CONCEPT OF THE SOUL.—A distinction observed between the phraseology of the unconverted and the Christian Delawares in referring to the soul, which has already been mentioned, is of some significance in this connection. The former group employs the term lənape·o'k·an "human sign, or evidence of existence." The terminal element, -ok·an appears in combinations le·χ'le·'χe·'yo'k·an "breath of life, actual life" meaning "my life"[2] (le·xe·'yan, "my breathing"), wihila·'ok·an "clan-name emblem." Its obscure abstract meaning, however, seems to lie beyond the scope of any specific English equivalent. The Christian Delawares use the term tci·'teaŋg giving the significance in Delaware of an image, an appearance visible but without substance, an incorporeal image or phantom as an image in a mirror. The same term actually designates a mirror in the language.

The second term, now of the Christian Delaware religious vernacular, has a wide distribution among eastern Algonkian languages indicating that, while the synonomy noted has taken place in Delaware since the introduction of Christianity, the element tci·'teaŋg for soul is an archaic property of the family of tongues.[3]

We are told that the soul leaves the body twelve days after death, that the life blood ("huk") remains as a spirit on the earth, whence arise ghosts or phantoms.

The heart is the seat of one soul, the blood the seat of another spiritual element. The heart and blood should be [illegible] together after death (for which reason the Delawares do not believe in embalming). The blood of the dead is the element from which the dead reappear to the living on earth in the form of ghosts. It is considered as the cause of paralysis and so was curable through appeal to the dead. We might refer to the funeral rites of the tribe which carry the burial customs over twelve days after death when certain feasting and rites are performed at the home of the deceased. And again these are repeated twelve months later in a yearly ceremonial feast to the dead. At the feast the opposite clan group has an important part to play.

[1] Harrington I, pp. 14, 87.

[2] A more general term for "life," in Delaware, is pema'ŋsowak·an, with the sense of "being among the living."

[3] Mitschitschank, Munsee (Brinton, Lenape Dictionary, p. 83); djedja'kew, Wabanaki (St. Francis and Penobscot); atca'kew (Montagnais-Naskapi); tca'tcung (Mohegan-Pequot); (mi)chachunck, (Natick, where the analogy between soul and mirror is also found (Trumbull, Natick Dictionary, pp. 325, 290, 571); and the same in Narragansett, (Roger Williams, Key to the Indian Language, p. 113); and (mit)tachonkq in the Quiripi dialect of western Connecticut.

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bers of the group are convened for the Big House ceremony the day intervals between the nightly performances are passed in taking rest and in pastimes of a native character. The Delawares have various games (li·nalə'ti·n) of a non-formal nature. Among these are horse racing (h'wta'me'laxtaŋ, "trying out horses), and the dice and bowl game (ma'ma'ndi·n, "gathering [dice]") consisting of five dice, cut out of mussle shell carved into forms of button, horsehead, tortoise, tossed in a wooden bowl, the counters being kernels of corn or coffee beans. Other amusements, some obviously of European origin, are checkers, pitching quoits, cards, broad-jumping and jack-straws, it might be added that the Delawares are addicted to the well known moccasin-game but reserve it for the funeral ceremony.[1]

CEREMONIAL IMAGE AND FACE-PAINTING.—The application of pigment to the face has, in Delaware thought, the value of an anointment. The sanctity of the act of face-painting in connection with the performance is displayed in the formality of the rite on the ninth night in which the carved images in the Big House, the face images on the forked drum-sticks, and the faces of the worshipers themselves are given an application of red color. The images, however, receive an application of black and red on each half of the face, while the people receive a rubbing of red only on the cheeks and forehead. The proper native source of red for face painting, which the Delawares believe to have been created for their use by the Great Spirit, is Blood-root (Sanguinaria canadensis). Of this we hear occasionally in the text. In the accounts dealing with Indian customs in the east, Blood-root under the name pukoon is mentioned as an article of much importance. The term *pukoon* became adopted into English and the root became a color substance sought for in the commerce of the colonies. The Delawares still preserve a feeling of its importance and, although considered rare in the present habitat of the tribe in Oklahoma, it is locally present in quantities sufficient to supply an orange-red stain for them in their ceremonies. They call it pe''kɔn.[2]

Black painting is also important in significance. Black (sək·a'χtai, "black charcoal") is a means of summoning ghosts and so it is worn only when such associations are desired.[3]

In an account of early Pennsylvania and New Jersey, Gabriel Thomas (1698)[4] tells us that the Delawares upon decease made their faces black all over, and when their affairs went well they painted

[1] To be dealt with in a later memoir of this series.
[2] The identity of the above term with Sanguinaria was ascertained during a trip with the informant in the Pennsylvania woods where the plant was found and named.
[3] The informant remembers when a child being told by his mother to go wash the black paint from his face before night came on, after he had been playing dancing, lest it attract a ghost.
[4] Gabriel Thomas' Account, etc., in Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey, and Delaware, N. Y. (1912), edited by Albert Cook Myers, p. 341.

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their faces with red, "it being the token of their joy as the other is of their grief."

The dichromatic pattern, black and red, seems to stand out with prominence in the painting of the human face and its carved representations in the whole eastern portion of North America from Maine to the Gulf of Mexico. An explanation, often sought for by direct inquiry among the Indians, and again based upon hypothesis, has never seemed forthcoming. In the preceding remarks on the use of black among the Delawares, and again through implied reasoning, I would venture to suggest, lies a plausible explanation of the pattern of red and black. The red symbolizes living beings, the black dead, both idea and symbol having a deep grounding in the religious philosophy of the eastern part of the continent.

To illustrate some of the color patterns affected by the Delawares during the Big House ceremony, the narrator of the text made the accompanying color sketches (figure). The patterning permissible in the ceremony is normally restricted to black and red put on in larger masses rather than in fine lines. The mass designs are thought to be sombre, dignified; in short, full-dress in character, and, a note of no little significance, more ancient.

The smaller, fine-line designs placed on the cheeks or in the narrow area between the outer corner of the eye and the temple are regarded as being more modern, secular in character. These are considered too profane for the purpose of worship, and to wear them during the Big House ceremony would be out of keeping with the gravity of the occasion. The fine-line designs are regarded as being suitable for dress-up events of a social nature and for social dances. They belong also to the garb of warriors, like the wearing of the roach head-ornament and the feather bonnet. A series of examples of the fine line of warriors' face patterns for cheeks and temples are shown in figures , as observed and remembered by the informant. An analogy exists between the patterns adopted by warriors and the markings on the face of the rattlesnake and even the turtles. In both cases the patterns are thought ominous, which seems to account for their exclusion from the ceremonial category of designs. Painting on the face representing markings on turtles' or rattlesnakes' faces are called aca'co which means "slitting or cutting in the skin," in Delaware.[1]

THE SWEATING RITE.—At an earlier period of Delaware history, it is said in the text, before the evacuation of the tribal haunts in Kansas (1867) the performance of a sweating ceremony seems to have been included in the annual ceremony. Harrington has notes on this procedure for which he received the name muxhatoL'zing from his

[1] In Montagnais-Naskapi, aca'jo denotes tatooing.

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775 have a bodily form. It is a journey of 12 days from earth to Heaven after death.
[171] They believe as do the Iroquois, that the soul does not leave the body finally at death, but that it revisits the body for a few days before it takes its final departure. For this
[764] reason, as Adams says, they bury on scaffolds in the trees, and in a sitting position near the surface of the earth. Last year he made a coffin for an Indian, and his friends made him bore a hole in the head of the coffin, the object of which being to allow the spirit free egress and regress to and from the body.

Heaven is a place of rest. They follow up the path, and the first stopping place is a place where they find a supply of vermilion or red paint. They cannot pass this place without painting their faces. If they have been accustomed to paint on earth, the paint will readily adhere, unless they have been very wicked, and then they pass on without delay. But if not used to painting, or if they have been very wicked, the paint will not adhere, and thus they are detained at this place until the Evil Spirit removes them to a place of punishment.

775 They say there are seven points of good
577 and evil. If the deceased has four of the points of good in his favor, or more, he is sure to pass on to heaven, but if there [are] four or more bad, he cannot go to heaven but must be placed in a place of misery and unhappiness where he is punished according to his evil deeds. If he was accustomed to paint, it will be more apt to stick, and that is all that is claimed for this meritorious act. There is a second stopping place on the way where the selfish and covetous are surrounded and burned up in the article [on which] they set their store upon earth, and thus are kept out of heaven. They
775 have a belief that mosquitoes sprang up out
825